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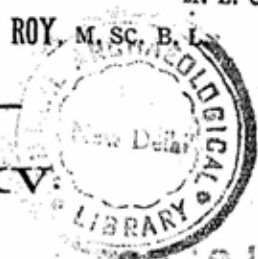
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*Editor* : RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L.,  
M. L. C.

*Asst. Editor* : RAMESH CHANDRA ROY, M. SC. B. L.

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# MAN IN INDIA.

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Vol. XV. }

January—March, 1935. {

No. I.

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## I. SOME REFLECTIONS ON INDIAN CASTES.

By

NAGENDRA NATH GHOSE, M.A., B.L.

The writer of this article has perused with great interest the two articles on *Caste, Race and Religion in India* which have appeared in Nos. 1 and 2 of volume XIV of *Man in India*, and has taken the opportunity which the Editor of the Journal has courteously offered to him of recording some of his views and opinions upon the principal subject of the articles, Indian Castes.

It is not many centuries since European savants got the opportunity to study Indians and Indian institutions at close quarters. When this opportunity first presented itself, no institution appears to have struck them so much by its unusualness as caste. Speculations on the institution and its probable origin have been accumulating ever since with no approach whatever to a solution; and at this moment the problem of Indian Castes takes rank as one of the principal unsolved riddles of Anthropology.

One of the most interesting features of these accumulating speculations is the increasing number of Indian writers who in recent years have been seen to take part in them. And yet not many decades ago Indians were as good as totally incurious about castes. For long generations they had got accustomed to taking the institution for granted, as part and parcel of the order of nature. The modern Indian's interest in castes is owing to European contact and European schooling.

But Indians (or Hindus to be more precise, for the institution is mainly Hindu) had not always been incurious about it in the past. One has to turn over the pages of the S'rauta and Paurāṇic literatures and the Dharma S'āstras even cursorily to notice the large amount of consideration the authors of this literature felt constrained to devote to it. And it is noticeable too that, as has been the case with modern inquirers, interest grew with years till it ended by becoming almost an obsession.

And it is a most interesting coincidence again that these Indo-Aryan speculators on caste are found to have been as much groping in the dark, and theorising with almost as much abandon, as appear to characterise modern speculations on castes, be the authors European or Indian.

Out of this welter of speculations, modern as well as ancient, the outstanding fact that stands out incontestably borne out by the literature just mentioned is the fact that the Vedic Aryans when they came to India knew nothing of castes or of

*varṇās'ramadharma*. There are allusions to caste in odd *sūktas* and *mantras* of the Vedas, all of which however are demonstrably later accretions upon the original caste-less Vedic core. The atmosphere of the later literature and of the epochs they represent is seen, on the other hand, to be thick with castes and innumerable varieties of them. But the domination of the Brahman class appears to be such a patent common feature of all these literatures, that the prevailing tendency of the European speculators on castes has been to regard it as a more or less deliberate creation out of hand of the Vedic Aryan Brahmins who at the end of it came out as the unquestioned and unquestionable apex of the entire system.

This supposition, if true, would imply at least this: that the Brahmins saw the institution develop under their eyes. If so, is it not extraordinary that this literature, which in part antedated the institution and culminated by making it the corner-stone of their later-day polity, should have left no trace or mark whatever of that observed beginning of castes?

The writer of this article in any case, when it fell to him recently to trace the evolution of the Hindu *varṇās'ramadharma*, with the aid not of anthropological data proper but of literary material of various kinds collected from the ritualistic literature of the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads and the Sūtra works (S'rauta and Gṛhya) and from the Purāṇas,<sup>1</sup> was powerfully

<sup>1</sup> See *Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture (Origins)*. By Nagendra Nath Ghose, M.A., B.L. Book Company, 1934.



struck by this fact. It is true of course that the writing of the history of events and institutions was not an Indo-Aryan habit. The authors of these literatures, some of them betokening the possession of intellectual capacity of the highest order, appear indeed to have been singularly wanting in the historical sense and perspective. But as though by way of exception, they did speculate on the institution of castes and on their origins, and that from almost every conceivable direction. All these speculations, however, appear on examination to be as much "in the air" as do all modern speculations in relation to them. The writer accordingly saw no escape from the conclusion that the Indo-Aryan literature and the Indo-Aryan people whose literature it was, and in particular the Brahman authors of that literature, knew as little of the observed beginnings and the early evolution of Indian castes as do modern writers upon the subject. It was a matter of pre-history to both of them equally.

The logic of this fact has compelled others besides the writer of this article (not, it may be as self-consciously as has been the case with him) to propound the view that caste existed in India from before the Vedic Aryans' advent into the country, for that is what is meant when it is affirmed by them that it was a "Dravidian" or "pre-Dravidian" institution. Some would even trace the caste topping the entire hierarchy, the Brahman caste, to the "priest-magicians of the Dravidians," in effect wiping away the Aryan Brahman from the picture altogether.

The writer is very anxious to make it clear at once how much of this last statement he has found established and how much again decidedly negatived by the literary evidence which he examined for the purposes of his book. In order that there may be no room for misapprehension, he would summarise here the conclusions to which he was led by such examination.

The findings recorded in his book are: that caste was unknown in the Vedic Aryan settlements in the Panjab, that the *vis'*-people who were altogether undifferentiated as to caste had for their priestly and secular leaders the Brahmans and Kshatriyas respectively, who were no more castes by themselves than are the members of the civil and military services in England; that there were well-organised kingdoms (not tribal settlements only like the Vedic Aryan *vis'as*) in the Vrātya East; that Brahmans immigrating into these kingdoms came upon a people already organised into a variety of castes, amongst them a priestly caste who however were no better than "priest-magicians" and had too as a most important part of their functions the composition and preservation of sagas concerning the nobility, the King and his family chiefly, this nobility of Rajanyas being the premier caste in Vrātyaland, a caste of highly cultured people who, he felt constrained to suggest (but without specific data to go upon), were presumably a race of foreign invaders that had succeeded in imposing its rule and perhaps also its language on the conquered people

who, before their arrival, were already presumably a mixed conglomeration of castes. He found significant indications from the same data that the Aryan Brahman immigrants into these countries were absorbed into the indigenous priestly caste, not much to the advantage of either, but that it did not take them long to get segregated, and that again through the latter sinking into the rank of "*brahmabandhus*". All this happened however after the Vṛātya countries and peoples had been *formally* Aryanised, more or less *en bloc* through the facile operation of a Vedic Aryan ritual ceremony, the (conversion-) *vrātyastoma*, and in consequence of it; that there was a like amalgamation of the Vedic Aryan Kshatriyas with these superior Rājanyas of the East who however stood as much higher in wealth and prestige above the Vedic Aryan Kshatriyas as the Vedic Aryan Brahmans did over the Vṛātya priestly order.

Considering the evidence furnished by this literature, the writer found no escape from the conclusion that this Neo-Aryanism of the Eastern Vṛātya countries was the product of a kind of Vedic Brahman and Vṛātya Rājanya concordat; that these Rājanyas had already before the arrival of the Aryan Brahmans upon the scene evolved the rudiments of the Upanishads, which learning the Vedic Aryan Brahmans eagerly took over from them and perfected to the point it is seen to have reached in the Upanishad Vedānta which later gave birth to the Dars'anas. The *varṇās'ramadharmā* was proved to be the final

stage of this new composite culture which, the evidence furnished by the literature further proved, then moved westward and modified the original pure-bred Aryanism of the Panjab into what appeared later to the Aryanised Vratyas of the East and the Middle East as inferior approximations to the synthetic neo-Aryanism of the East.

It will be seen from the above that though caste, according to these conclusions, was a pre-Aryan institution, and though *āsrama* too (being an institution of Upanishadic origin) was found to have had its beginning in the Vratya East, I have found it impossible to abolish the Vedic Aryan Brahman altogether as a cultural force in the production of modern Hinduism. The Vratya priestly caste appears from the evidence to have provided the ladder by which the Aryan Brahmans were enabled to rise to the premier position in the caste hierarchy, whereas the Aryan Kshatriyas became an indistinguishable part of the amalgamated Kshatriya caste, though, in so far as their practices appeared to fall short of the ideals of the Aryanised Vratyas, there are distinct indications in the Mahābhārata that they came to be looked down upon by the latter as their inferiors.

In my book, it will be seen, I have professed and propounded no view or theory of the origin of castes. My data, as I have pointed out already, did not permit of it, besides that for the limited purpose of my book it was unnecessary for me to go back of the Indo-Aryan literature for my data. It will be seen also that my hy-

pothesis so far as it goes is not a simple one and presents a number of highly complicated features, in sad contrast, it must be said, to the facile and comprehensive hypotheses and theories of the anthropologists. The reason for this of course is that I had to correlate my conclusions to a respectable quantity of given data which coerced and constrained me, whereas no such considerations have embarrassed the anthropologists. The detailed testimony furnished by the literature mentioned left me no clean slate to write upon. My data have not been ample and I have frequently had occasion to lament the occurrence of tragic gaps and hiatuses which had to be bridged or crossed by unattested speculations very much against my grain. But what data I had got were specific and pointed in definite directions; and I had to bend myself in these directions.

Having found that caste already existed in Vratyaland, I contented myself, as indicated, with exhibiting the manner in which, according to the indications of my data, it might have got lodgement in the Vedic Aryan scheme of life or, to be more accurate, in the synthetic neo-Aryan scheme of life which replaced it. Had the literary material at my disposal held out the necessary clues I would not have hesitated to push my enquiries further back in time as far as they would have led me. But as it did not do this, I stopped. It appeared to me to be unwise to mix up findings based on given data with speculations which would be more or less "in the air."

But this is not to say that in my own mind I did not worry over the probable beginnings of caste in India and on the anthropological backgrounds which made it possible for it to take firm foothold in its soil and to assume the several special features my data led me to conclude it did. Not being a professed anthropologist, I had been very uncertain as to whether I should or should not give publicity to certain quite definite views and opinions I have been led to form in consequence. But a perusal of Rai Sarat Chandra Roy Bahadur's aforesaid monograph on "*Caste, Race and Religion in India*" has convinced me of the necessity, if not also of the unavoidability, of doing this. I found from this monograph that the views and opinions concerning caste which I have recorded and published in my book have, without my knowing it, brought me full tilt already against current speculations, anthropological and non-anthropological, on the Indian caste system in a variety of ways. Having thus got into the thick of the mêlée, the only course left to me now is to get right through, as best I can.

But a due appreciation of certain considerations of a general nature is so essential for the proper presentation of my views, that I must begin with these.

I wish, first of all, to make a clear distinction between the root cause of any institution under examination and the many varieties of "conditions" which may have promoted it or given it special

directions after it had taken root. In this matter I have understood the author of the monograph on "*Caste, Race and Religion in India*" to be in entire agreement with me. To attribute causal efficiency to "conditions" and even to "consequences" is really to back the wrong horse. The pursuit of different occupations (Ibbetson and Nesfield), different racial origins and differences in complexion (Risley), gentilitial cohesiveness (internally) and exclusiveness (externally) with associated endogamy within and exogamy without (Senart), purity and pollution-motives (Kelkar and Ghurey), the mysterious *mana* (Hutton) are by this token all wrong horses. This the author of the monograph in question has so clearly demonstrated that it is unnecessary to enlarge further upon this point.

Amongst the category of "conditions" however I desire specifically to see included one which appears to have been uniformly overlooked. This is "imitation." Caste, once it has taken root and proliferated in some favourable milieu, has a tendency to cross boundaries and infect social organisations within and without, which left alone would never perhaps have developed or contracted it. It is quite possible (I consider it indeed to have been exceedingly probable) that in pre-Aryan India, caste grew up in a restricted area where it proved so successful and attained such prestige socially that it was readily adopted and adapted in neighbouring territories. Successful social experiments prove highly infectious as many of us have known to our cost.

Another preliminary observation I desire to make is that the caste-idea inheres in no special race group. Whatever justification there may be for positing a theory of the persistence, through generations, of somatic characteristics (I desire to enter my caveat here against the accepted anthropometric differentiations being indubitably such) there is none whatever for assuming a similar hereditary persistence of mental habits, outlooks, and prejudices. These are "acquired" traits almost entirely, which caught young the subject can be educated into or out of with the greatest ease. A tendency to associate caste-consciousness with a specially designated race-group will be often found lurking behind many anthropological speculations. It is to my mind unscientific and misconceived.

The "mysterious *mana*" and its supposed connections with caste also call for some observations of a general nature. If caste itself is a mystery, as the treatment of it in all anthropological literature of recent times appears to make it out to be, and if *mana* be another, I can see no merit whatever in seeking the explanation of one mystery in another. But neither is, or needs to be made out to be, a mystery.

*Mana*, I find myself in complete agreement with the author of the monograph on "*Caste, Race and Religion in India*" in thinking, is not the special property of any particular race or social group. It is universal to man as man, who would not be man (a comprehending subject *vis-a-vis* a world of objects) but a mere biological factor



without it. It is, I affirm, a necessary concomitant of the subject-object relationship. Every attempt on the part of the subject soul to stretch itself out and comprehend and control the apparently unfriendly and chaotic immensity of multiplicities around him finds expression in one variety or another of the *mana* philosophy, the quality of this philosophy keeping step with the measure of comprehension and control attained by the comprehending subject-soul.

The interplay of subject and objects takes according to circumstances a physical, metaphysical or anthropomorphic turn or various combinations of them. Every soul, if it is not utterly sophisticated, responds to its objective surroundings in each of these well-marked and other subtler ways; but according to the specific milieu in which it has been nurtured (modified in measures no doubt by the degree and quality of its personal mental endowments), its responses take a predominantly physical, metaphysical or anthropomorphic turn.

The matter is best illustrated by taking extreme cases, and I shall choose my illustrations from within Anthropology itself, the article being meant for anthropologists.

The cases I choose are the cases of an ideal nomad social unit placed, say, in a Central Asian grass-land milieu, and an ideal settled river-basin-bred society of agriculturists, say, of the Gangetic basin. I assume further that these two types of society have lived for long ages in

complete isolation, not a very violent assumption to make, if the events are pushed sufficiently far back in time. It will also not be unscientific to assume that the men composing these societies started with approximately the same physical and mental make-up. That the different physical environments will after a period of fairly long isolation produce certain well-marked differentiations in physical traits may be taken as beyond question. But that these, if the men are removed to quite a different environment, will continue to breed true for very long is still highly uncertain. The grass-land nomad will re-act to his environment (as compared with the riverine agriculturist) by developing stronger thews and sinews and a highly pragmatic intellect, which when he has descended upon the plains gives him certain advantages over the indigenous population, for a time at least, in certain specific directions. On the other hand, the latter may have developed better resistance to disease germs and an order of intellect which works very efficiently in other specific directions. It is all, I affirm, a matter of adaptation and adjustment, the functioning body and brain remaining fundamentally similar. The ease and facility with which people belonging to these two diametrically contrasting cultures have been seen time and again to mix and mingle to produce cultures generally superior to either would if nothing else negative the underlying assumption of most anthropologists that different physical environment cause fundamentally different racial traits and habits bred in their very bones, though

they certainly give rise to different special ways of adjustment to the environments and different traditions. But these too, it has been found, admit of being "swopped" with as much ease as, say, caps and coats or the fashion of cutting one's hair.

Equally unjustified is the facile assumption underlying most anthropological speculations that the "savage" races are semi-idiot, so to speak. The differences between races and races and "civilized" and "savage" races are at bottom differences in nurture, not nature.

Those who go to the horse-races to stake money on the horses are very keenly alive to the differences between horse and horse. To the detached observer, however, the differences which the horses which come to compete of whatever breed or ancestry are seen to exhibit, count for little. He notices no fundamental differences between horse and horse.

My experience and studies, both now fairly extensive, have turned me completely against attributing extraordinary and fantastic psychological peculiarities to either the primitive nomad, to the primitive agriculturist or to the modern savage. The true psychological root of any human institution, to my mind, will disclose itself sooner to the anthropologist who has honestly and conscientiously tried to lay aside the predilections and sophistications with which his own highly artificial life has overlaid his mind, and having done so puts himself resolutely "inside the skin"

of the people who built up the institution under examination and in the environments in which he did so, than to one who, not subjecting himself to this discipline, either proceeds to extrapolate his own sophisticated ideas on to them, or airily assumes that these people had a fundamentally different type of mental machinery to work with than his own.

*Vis-a-vis* nature and her forces, human faculties (identically constituted for all practical purposes) have for their first and almost all-absorbing pre-occupation the problem of subsistence. The grass-land nomad who solved his problem of subsistence by taming and domesticating cattle was decidedly no fool, extremely knowing and resourceful on the contrary; as indeed too was the river-basin agriculturist who solved *his* problem by taming and domesticating the plant world. He also comes to require the aid of animals, for his agricultural occupations, and becomes a keeper and breeder of cattle for subsistence as well as wealth. The nomad who has to follow on the wake of his cattle from one end of the plains to the other and back again has a hard life to lead and, unlike the agriculturist, never becomes a storer of wealth which in any and every shape would be an embarrassment to him. For the same reason he is sparing in the matter of breeding his cattle and even his own children. He naturally prefers the stronger male above the weaker female, and his male children when they grow up are as good as his equals, for lacking wealth of

any sort, he can get together no "trapping of state" by which to distinguish himself from his fellows and has to depend for precedence chiefly on personality which is not always there. Nor is he obsessed by sex or the reproductive function which he has to check and control in both his men and cattle. He therefore not only does not worship phalluses but even abhors them. Not caring for wealth in any of its vast varieties, he never is a good physicist.

Again, living always in the open, naked and exposed to the free play of the elements in all their moods, he develops a hardihood not known in the river-basin life, and a highly pragmatic resourceful intelligence. But ever on the move, he gets no leisure too to be introspective. His gods are like himself and his people, the elements personified, disparate deities who have to be separately tackled by prayers and adjurations addressed to each severally and forming a clan, so to speak, similar to his own. The conception of a single power controlling all the varied operations of of nature does not come quite naturally to him. He is thus not only a poor physicist but a poor metaphysician also. He may easily be and generally is a poet: Altogether a very tough but also a very simple and quite easily comprehensible existence. His *manas* are few in variety, being practically confined to his mode of appeasing and propitiating the personified elements.

The river-basin agriculturist, on the other hand, is a storer of grains and cattle which he is not

averse to bartering for other forms of wealth to add to the amenities of the settled sheltered life that is his. His interest in all these varieties of wealth makes him the earliest botanist, biologist and physicist; the necessity of making fields and controlling irrigation as also of the building of houses teaches him the beginnings of engineering and geodesy. But no phenomenon strikes his mind so forcefully as sex and fecundity; and everywhere the riverine agriculturist is seen to develop into a worshipper of phalluses and, at a later more introspective stage, of the Mother-goddess. An agricultural community is close-packed and depends for survival upon the reconciliation of so many conflicting interests that it cannot do without an autocratic arbitrator, a King. Sheltered as his life is, his surroundings too are for that reason neither altogether safe nor healthy. The same bountiful nature which keeps him in comparative abundance also provides asylum for wild beasts, beasts of prey many of them, and insect pests, and diseases of men, plants and cattle abound. The agriculturist gets plenty of leisure to think and is introspective. The poverty of his physical knowledge, superior though it is to the nomad's, makes him superstitious in about the same measure as it does the nomad, and in one of its manifestations his *mana* takes the form of spells, imprecations and incantations by which he seeks to exorcise demons, wild beasts and diseases. This manifestation of *mana*, mark, does not con-

note genuflection and worship, but is their exact antithesis.

It is customary with anthropologists to view this particular manifestation of *mana* with disfavour and as connoting a rather degraded condition of mind as compared with the attitude of prayer and invocation which the nomads are seen to maintain towards their gods. But this is a misapprehension. Resort to spells and incantations represents an attitude which is nearer the attitude of the modern man of science than prayers and adjurations (which the deluded nomad imagined would be heard), for it is just inadequate and imperfect physics, representing as it does an attempt to control nature (where nature cannot be controlled by direct physical methods) by other means experimentally tried and found to have produced results, the primitive man being even less able to appreciate the inwardness of the logical fallacy of *post hoc propter hoc* than the ordinary modern man. But, of course, the nomad man's prayers and adjurations, too, to deities (who cannot hear) are not entirely free from the spell *mana* motive. They would not pray or adjure if they did not believe that the prayers and adjurations would not only be heard but also produce results. Any and every kind of prayers would not do this, nor generally without other set ritualistic accessories. The prayers and adjurations must have coercive efficiency or intensity. Most of the *mantras* of the RigVeda (not all, for some of them are pure poetry, that is to say literature,

the RigVedic Aryans not being quite primitive people) were supposed to possess this efficacy and were called *brahmans* to signify their impenetration with the *brahman mana*. The *mantras* of the Atharva Veda are called *brahmans*, in several of its *suktas*, to convey the same idea. I am convinced that this *mana* idea underlay the use of the term *brahman* in the neuter in nearly every context in which it occurs in the Vedas, if not universally. It is not unlikely even that the Atharva Veda came to be specially designated as *the* Brahma Veda, because its *mantras* had the efficacy of *mantras* as such without accessory ritualistic aids, that is to say because they were mostly charms and spells and incantations purely and simply.

Like the nomad, the agriculturist also was prone to be an animist, but on a smaller scale. His *mana* taking this form filled up gaps left by his physics and by his magic *mana* in his understanding of the objective world. In his King however he found a general organiser who helped him in his conception of organising gods. The Mother-goddess conception, it will be observed, was itself a more advanced monistic conception than the nomad's conception of *his* gods. She grew however out of his physics or rather biology. His big gods would on the other hand be reflections of his King. The same kind of *mana* permeated his God-like King and King-like Gods. The transition in his case from such organising gods to the Supreme God would be easier than



would be a similar transition to the same conception from the nature gods of the nomads, specially if he has had experience of that by no means rare royal phenomenon of a river-basin culture, a suzerain Imperial King. The agriculturist does as a rule evolve into a rare metaphysician, his metaphysics simultaneously drawing sustenance from two sources, the all-pervading physico-biological *mana* and the anthropomorphic King-God *mana*.

The King-God *mana* is not easily destroyed, though destroyed it is in the long run, but not until science has reached its culminating stage as it has done to-day, and it is not destroyed without at the same time shaking the scientist's faith in a Personal Ruler of the Universe also to its foundations. The all-pervading physical *mana* fills up the vacancies thereby created, and science begins to talk of Conservation and Transformation of Force or Energy. To the highly sceptical positivist of the last century, belief in this scientific creed of a constant mutable fund of energy perpetually engaged in enacting and re-enacting the phantasmagoric drama of the phenomenal world appeared to be a superstition of the same order. I should very much enjoy having a strict up-to-date adherent of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, the acutest yet conceived in the mind of man, and a modern man of science who still believes in the existence of an immortal individual soul in the witness-box in order to discover wherein they differ fundamentally from the Indonesian who, as noted at p. 119 of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy's monograph, "believes in the existence of a duality of souls; one the vital element in the living body

and permeating it and adhering to any part separated from it and leaving the body at death to form a part of a store from which newly born human beings receive their supply of soul-substance, and another a spiritual entity which becomes the ghost after the death of the body." The savage man and his civilized examiner and critic are after all not so far apart in nature as they generally are taken to be.

I have tried to express my views concerning the *mana* anthropology by using idealised pictures of a pure-bred grass-land nomadic culture and of a contrasting pure-bred riverine culture as pegs on which to hang my observations. If I am asked where I got these pictures from, I shall reply at once, from nowhere. I have simply speculated. But in doing so, I have done what all anthropologists are constrained to do. The cultures which actually confronted me in the course of my investigations, the results of which I have recorded in my book, appear from the sketch I have given above to have been three:—one, the Vedic-Aryan *vis'* culture, a second which I may provisionally designate the indigenous *Vrātya* culture, and an intervening third, an immigrant *Vrātya* *Rājanya* culture, this last a composite culture, both of which latter are found reflected in part, more or less modified, in the superficially Brahmanised *Atharva* *Veda*, the last one deserving on the whole to be regarded, materially and spiritually also, as superior to the pure-bred Vedic Aryan *vis'* culture.

To take the indigenous *Vrātya* culture first, it does appear to a certain extent to approximate the pure-bred riverine culture sketched by me above. Phallus-

worship and the cult of the Mother-goddess formed integral and important parts of this culture. Spells, imprecations, charms, witchcraft and necromancy formed a predominant feature of this culture. I had to find in addition that caste with caste-consciousness was a prevailing feature of this social order.

Since the Vṛātya Rājanyas were immigrants, they were presumably representatives of a nomad culture, but not identical with the Aryan Vedic culture. I can no more hold the immigrant Vṛātyas responsible for originating castes in Vṛātyaland than I do the Aryan Brahman immigrants. In my book I provisionally assented to Dr. J. H. Hutton's theory of these Rājanya invaders having belonged to an "Alpine" stock who got somehow schooled into adopting a tongue closely akin to the Vedic Aryans.' For reasons which I have partially outlined in an article contributed in the November number of the *Calcutta Review*, I have since lost all faith in the Alpine-Nordic classification of the bulk of the white-skinned population of Eurasia. I am for like reasons equally averse to designating the aboriginal Vṛātya population as Dravidian or pre-Dravidian. I have simply ceased to believe in these categories.

I can speak more definitely of the manner in which these two cultures reacted on each other. The Vṛātya Rājanyas do not appear to have taken kindly to phallus worship, no nomad people do; and the Pṛthu legend appears to show that the Mother-goddess (whom the Purāṇas say he cowed into subjection and milked) was forced to take a back seat, the great Rudrā-Is'āna organising Supreme God of the indigen-

ous Vrātya people displacing her from the front. The Mother-goddess whom Pṛthu milks is shown up as Pṛthivī in the Purāṇas, but is Virāj in the Atharva Veda, a more abstract conception which is easily transformed into the Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhyas, whilst the male power which overshadows her becomes their Purusha. The Mother-goddess, I have shown, was more a physico-biological than an anthropomorphic conception, and so was Prakṛti and so too was the Purusha of the Sāṅkhyas, of which last concept the non-anthropomorphic omnipotent *Brahman* of the Atharva Veda and the *nirguna Brahman* of the Upanishad Vedānta are recognisable variations. Apparently the Vrātya Rājanyas took over the physics and physics-born metaphysics of the indigenous population and improved it, and in so far as they subordinated the female supreme power to the male they strongly modified popular beliefs which survived more nearly in the form in which it originally existed in the S'iva-S'akti-cult of later days, the strong anthropomorphic tinge of which may not improbably have been owing to subsequently experienced Vedic Aryan contact. But in the analogous rival Vishṇu cult we find the female power made innocuously subordinate to Vishṇu.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> It is, it should be noted, as natural for the nomad man in his environments to set exaggerated value upon virility as it is for the river-basin agriculturist, in his, to over-rate fecundity. The male principle is accordingly regarded as the active ruling principle by the former as naturally as the latter regards the female as the well-nigh spontaneously moving originating principle. The nomad regards the female as the passive recipient of energy imparted by the male, the male in a similar way being regarded by the agriculturist as a more

I do not wish to dogmatise, but I would be inclined to find associated with the Mother-goddess cult a certain prevalence of matriarchy or matrilineal succession at least. If any such institution did exist amongst the indigenous population of Vrātyaland, its disappearance may be attributed to the influence of the invading organising nomad-born Vrātya Rājanyas. The nomad culture, whatever its other drawbacks, does produce strong bodies and strong organising pragmatic brains which readily absorb the best in the riverine culture whenever it gets the chance and

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or less passive partner if not as a mere onlooker. The Sankhya Purusha-Prakṛti relation and the S'iva-S'akti cult are nearer the agriculturist's point of view inasmuch as the female in each is the dynamic power, but both show an approach to and compromise with the nomad's outlook by subordinating this dynamic female principle to the over-shadowing male, regarding the latter as a sort of catalyst. The Vishnu cult on the other hand marks the complete prevalence of the male over the female principle. The neuter *Brahman* of the Atharva Veda is metaphysics into which physics would naturally pass if it was not arrested on the way by the biological outlook which neither the nomad nor the agriculturist could afford to overlook as a rule. In Greek philosophy the evolution was direct from physics to metaphysics, the Greek physicists when they began speculating having already passed beyond the naive biology of both the nomad and the agriculturist. The European philosophy, a lineal descendant of the Greek, had no consciousness at all of the biological outlook before Bergson (a post-Darwinian biologist) was able to give it for the first time the present ruling biological turn. This biology cannot of course afford to be either philogynist or misogynist. It should be remarked that the anthropomorphic Father God of the Jews who yet has no female principle at all associated with him was quite a different conception from Jupiter, Zeus, Varuna or Indra. It would be interesting to enquire into the specific environmental conditions which could have given rise to this conception.

even improves it. The phenomenon was repeated after the Aryan Brahmans came upon the scene ; for, as I have shown in my book, they took over the rather crude Upanishad of the Vrātya Rājanyas as the latters' pupils and then perfected it into the Upanishad-Vedānta, and ended by making themselves the organising geniuses of the country whose Kings they came to serve.

I have shown in my book that the Vrātya Rājanyas' being Upanishadists did not prevent them from being believers in spells. From what I have previously stated about spells it will have been understood that the spell *mana* and the neuter *brahman mana* of the Atharva Veda are closely allied forms, different manifestations of the non-anthropomorphic quasi-scientific *mana*. The *Brahman* of the Atharva Veda was not only the omnipotent holy power ; this power was at the call and disposal of the individual *brahmavid* who was " stirred " by it through prayer or fervour.

To turn now to the Vedic Aryan *vis'* cultural element, the literature of the Trayī makes it clear that though they must have started as pure-bred nomads answering my ideal picture, they must also have already had, before they arrived in India, contacts with and had absorbed a mild form of agricultural civilization in some place where they had settled at least temporarily. It might well have been on the Iranian plateau where they and the predecessors of the Avestans are supposed to have had their common home. But I am not sure yet that this common

home of the forbears of the Vedic Aryans and the Avestans was not in some river-basin draining into the Aral, and that the Avestans were not the agricultural people they lived with, but possibly had not had time to amalgamate with altogether before they parted. I could indeed have plumped for this view with some more confidence if I had not (as previously stated) lost all faith in the application of anthropometrical tests for determining the lines of pre-historic race-movements and race admixture, for I observe it stated that whilst the modern Persians are predominantly long-heads, the Parsees, the purest descendants of the Avestan people, are predominantly broad-heads.

However that may be, the Vedic Aryan gods, though in the main personified nature gods, are many of them of kinds not naturally affected by nomad people. The Vedic Aryans are seen actually to despise the "Vrātyas who strayed into their Settlements in the Panjab" because these did not practise *kṛsi* and *baṇḍiṇya* and did not observe *brahmacharya* (which really meant literacy as then understood) like themselves. The *kṛsi-baṇḍiṇya* they practised were crude enough, but these and literacy, between them, do connote a settled non-nomadic life to which they must have got at least partially habituated. But they are also seen to have abhorred the phallus and did not know of any Mother-goddess. The Aral river-basin which I suppose to have been the place where they got this taste for settled existence and acquired the rudiments of agriculture and barter was apparently less kindly than the Gangetic river-basins and not fecund enough

in such a striking way as to give birth to these cults characteristic only of very fertile river-valley cultures.<sup>3</sup>

The Vedic Aryan, I have already said, took the *Brahman* idea from the *Vrātya Rājanyas*. Their own mythology had no potentiality for evolving the neuter *Brahman* (=Holy Power) *mana*. Greek history presents a remarkably close parallel development. The philosophies of Anaxagoras, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle did not grow out of Greek mythology. Greek metaphysics started from the physics of Thales and the other physicists, and the material *mana* of the latter led on step by step to the spiritual *mana* of the former. The physicists and some of the metaphysicists hailed from Asia, and Plato had Egyptian contacts. The Upanishadic neuter *Brahman* (=Holy Power), it should be noticed, appears to have started originally from such physical bases as *anna*, *prāṇa* and *śabda* and by successive refinements rose finally to the all-pervading immanent omnipotent Holy Power, the *Brahman*, possession of which was thought in the early days of the Upanishads to confer more power on its possessor than the most potent of spells and charms and made him more powerful than the gods themselves, not excepting even the God of gods, *Prajāpati*. The triumph of the Aryan *Brahman*

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<sup>3</sup>. Such study as I have been able to make of the Avestan literature leaves me in no doubt that Zoroaster's preaching was addressed for and in the interest of a subject community of agriculturists. The agreed date and domicile of Zoroaster (at the present moment) are 660 B. C. to 583 B. C. and Ajarbaijan. Though not a river-basin, special geographical conditions have enabled this country to support a community of agriculturists and metal workers from very early times.



brain and dialectic over the Vratya Rajanya's is chiefly seen in the gradual supersession by him of this *saguna* almighty by the *nirguna* catalytic *Brahman* of the later Upanishads. The greatest and the purest-minded of practical philosophers (*karmayogins*) the world has so far produced tested it and having from his own point of view found it wanting discarded it. But the later developments of Buddhism appear to have conclusively demonstrated how impossible, or at least dangerous, it is for any one not as great as was Gautama Buddha himself to discard the *Atman-Brahman* altogether as a delusion and a snare.

A few observations on the origin of castes and I shall have concluded this discussion.

One conclusion that I came to at the close of my investigations into Indo-Aryan literature was that castes upon which the authors of that literature theorised with an abandon scarcely exceeded by modern savants was to them already a pre-historic institution, which statement implies that it is to remain a pre-historic institution for all times. But I am convinced also that caste-consciousness at the beginning could not have been as poisonously intense as it came to be in later times, and that the intensity of it grew by successive stages.

But even so, caste clearly is not to-day as rigid and hard-boiled an institution in India as European savants habitually take it to be. The practices of people in relation to it have always been less rigid than the theory recorded in the current Brahmanic literature would lead one to imagine. Whenever the exigencies of the situation have imperiously demanded

it, caste-boundaries have been crossed without excessive difficulty by the facile resort to *vyavasthās* (fictions) which the Brahman custodians of the caste-conscience have been only too obligingly ready to provide. Caste-distinction, but for this rather easy availability of suitable palliatives, would else have broken down long ago, owing to the very excess of its rigidity.

Although caste, I have found, must have existed in the Vṛātya countries before the advent into it of the Vṛātya Rājanyas and the Aryan Brahmans, there was before the arrival of the Brahmans and for a considerable period after it no "literature" of castes. Caste-rules existed in oral tradition only. Oral traditions necessarily lack the rigidity of written rules and are very flexible and readily yield to exigencies. Oral traditions are as a rule conscious, but not very self-conscious. I have tried to show in my book how the very admission of the Aryan Brahmans into the Vṛātya caste-system and at the very top of the hierarchy introduced an element of interested self-conscious direction which tended to make it more rigid than it originally was. But it was not till the Brahmans began to theorise on castes and evolved schematic pictures of it (from imagination mainly) and recorded their conclusions in writing in the Dharma Sāstras and in the later Purāṇas that the institution became rigid even in theory. The four-*Varṇa* classification was a schematic classification by theorists, a classification too which had no reference whatever to the *guṇa-karma* discrimination, which was acute philosophy but also very recondite philosophy and of the

very widest application too, the correlation of which to the *varṇa* classification was an even more recondite scholastic after-thought which did not and could not have admitted of practical realization, however deliberately pursued, in any people's institutions, not to speak of the people amongst whom the system grew up, for they were mostly very ignorant. Agreeing with the writer of the monograph on "*Caste, Race and Religion in India*" almost right through, I regret my inability to see eye to eye with him on this one point. The *varṇasaṅkara* refinement of this classification itself shows how little of a conscious relation *guṇas* had to the Brahmanic *varṇa* theory of caste-classification, not to speak of the living institution itself. I agree with him however that the *varṇa* of this *varṇa* classification had no reference whatever to colour distinctions. "*Varṇa*," from the beginning meant, as he has pointed out, "description," description for the purposes of classification, definition per *genus et differentiam* in logical parlance; so that the term *Kṛṣṇa-varṇa*, as applied to the *Dāsavarṇa* or the *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* people of the Rig Veda, meant the "Black Class" or "Black People" and not "black colour."

I may add in passing that the usual term for caste in Indo-Aryan literature is *jāti* not *varṇa*.

But even after the full-blown theory got recorded by the Brahmans in their literature, and although as the accredited custodians of the peoples' religious conscience they found plenty of opportunity to mould the practice according to that theory, even the Brahmans could not perform miracles. The castes have all along continued to regulate their affairs by caste-*pun-*

*chayets* chiefly, very much more so than by getting *vyavasthās* from the Brahmans. But the Brahman are always there to be consulted in difficulties, and their presence at hand as *s'āstric* arbitrators have undoubtedly tended to make the caste-people more self-consciously caste-conscious and more rigid in their caste observances, specially in the matter of inter-dining and intermarriage, than would otherwise have been the case.

Much is made by European scholars of the bearing on the evolution of castes of the special proneness exhibited by the Brahman ritualists in their writings to extend, multiply and elaborate rules of social observance by analogy and abuse of logic. But it is by no means a peculiarly Brahman failing. The Brahman loved "regulating" and "regulations." But so do the British. I personally think that the British, within the very much more restricted scope available to them in this late Kali Age, have beaten even the Brahmans at this "regulation"-making game. One illustration should suffice. In the Courts of Judicature which they set up here, so long as the practice of taking *vyavasthās* from the Pandits and Moulavies prevailed for deciding points of Hindu and Muslim law, these latter are seen to have grown up on fairly rational lines which did pay considerable regard to the realities of the world around them. But since this practice has been discontinued through the judges obtaining easy access to translations of considerable bodies of Hindu and Mahomedan sacred literatures, the tendency has been to apply the rules of these ancient sources more or less literally without much reference to existing conditions, a fault to which the Pandits

and Moulavies who had daily contact with these conditions in their practical life never appear to have been unreasonably prone. The situation as regards Hindu law in particular has visibly worsened since Sanskrit-knowing judges have come to occupy places (and deservedly honoured places) on the High Court Benches. It is not rare now to see obscure *Sāstric* rules which probably never had any actual operation at any time industriously unearthed to be fastened to peoples' necks as their living law. "Red-tapism" was not quite as much the failing of the white and brown Brahmans of Iudo-Aryan times as it is seen to be of the white Brahmans of India and their brown pupils.

Because of their having taken the Hindu literature on castes more literally than the Hindus themselves ever did, whether at the time this literature took shape or before or since, and because of its strangeness in their sight, the Indian caste-system has loomed very much larger before European eyes and appeared to them more poisonously rigid than it ever was in practice. Two very significant historical illustrations should suffice to prove this. Chinese monks frequently visited the India of the castes to study Buddhistic scriptures and to get personally acquainted with Buddhistic institutions and relics, as also did Alberuni, the Arab Mahommedan writer and savant. They were not only not treated as out-castes but received all consideration due to foreign "Brahmans." The bitterness in relations between Hindus and Muslims which followed after the Turki and Afgan conquests have been no little responsible for adding to the rigi-

dity of caste-consciousness specially as touching foreign peoples. I may add here that the Aryan Brahmins and Aryan Kshatriyas could not have been as readily admitted into the indigenous priestly and Rājanya castes of the Vratyas as I have supposed, had the latter been very rigid in their ideas of castes. But, as I have said, their admission tended to make these more rigid, though they never got to be as rigid as has been generally supposed.

On the question of the "origin" of castes, as distinguished from the innumerable varieties of "conditions" which promote, extend, intensify or exaggerate castes once they have taken root, I should be very much averse to looking for very recondite origins of the institution. The four chief historical caste-organisations ( which I have noticed in my book ) are the Indo-Aryan, the Roman ( Patricians *vis-a-vis* Plebs ), the Spartan ( Citizens against Helots ) and the Whiteman-Negro differentiation of the United States of America. All the three first-mentioned were pre-historic institutions of which the Indo-Aryan only has survived to this day. The Whiteman-Negro differentiation in the United State of America has grown, so to speak, under our eyes. I am personally convinced that the probable "origin" of castes becomes fairly apparent from a study of this one institution alone.

Difference in colour by itself does not explain the origin of the Whiteman-Negro caste differentiation in the United States. Illicit connections between them

are frequent, and licit ones too are not rare. At the root of the differentiation lies fear and strong aversion bred out of fear. If the Negro had not come to impress the White community in general as a serious economico-politico-social "problem" from the moment the United States became self-conscious as a nation, the Negroes would not have been relegated into a caste of "pariahs," as they have been in that country ever since. The colour prejudice came later as a consequence but was not the cause thereof. It is not the black Negroes only who are outcastes in the United States. The Chinese, the Japanese, Indian visitors to the States, and the Red Indians are all to-day inferior castes in the eyes of the American Whites in different degrees proportionate to the fear and aversion with which they are regarded. And yet there still are families in Virginia who have not given up boasting of their red-blood descent from the romantic winning as bride of Pocahontas by the famous pioneer Captain John Smith. Infective analogical extension too has unquestionably played its part in this evolution of the American caste system.

The White officials in India were fairly on the way to becoming a special caste in relation to the rest of the population for similar reasons. Within recent years we have seen the Eurasians relegated into the newly designated Anglo-Indian caste from analogous motives. The Hindus' intensified caste-aversion towards the Mahommedan is owing also to closely related causes. The Patrician-Pleb caste aversion in Rome and the Citizen-Helot caste-aversion in Sparta very probably had like origins. All these are ins-

tances of castes arising or intensifying through aversion which is more or less one-sided. Caste-aversion may be mutual when there are occasions for each caste fearing the other as a "problem," or become so by analogical reasoning and provoked reciprocation. A conquering or dominating people who are constantly in fear of losing their rulers' job is exceedingly prone to develop this one-sided corporate caste-consciousness. The general feeling of aversion of the European peoples towards the Jews tends to develop into caste-hatred whenever and wherever they are felt to have become a political or economic "problem," and the Jews have reciprocated this feeling.

It is by no means unlikely that somewhere in the Gangetic river-basins (the Auṇpades'a of the Purāṇas) which had attracted settlers from all directions, pursuing varying occupations, observing different social customs and representing varying grades of civilization, these fell, before they had time to mingle, under the rulership of a superior people who for aught one can tell might have been the Sūtas, for the Sūtas appear from all accounts to have been a very versatile and resourceful people, and were in any case priests and warriors rolled in one. They might have formed a corporate ruling caste after the manner just indicated, and might have found it useful to organise those other people into other castes on the "divide and rule" principle, or these latter might have copied it from their rulers. All this of course is speculation, and therefore "all in the air." But this speculation has at least the merit that it bears intelligible relation to other like phenomena which have been observed, and



the motives ascribed are not recondite or metaphysical. It does not in any case leave room for attributing to its author that particular form of *mana* which has compelled anthropologists, for instance, to give to the ignorant and in the main unfounded aversion which everybody, savage or civilized, feels to having intimate associations with strange people (an aversion which wears off with growing familiarity) a hauntingly mysterious name such as "*tapoo*" or "*mana*," and find in that magic designation potency to give birth to an institution which they morally condemn and yet cannot rationally account for. The writer's special *mana* is against the attribution to human institutions of non-psychological origins, so long at least as the possibilities of assigning psychological origins to them have not been completely exhausted.

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## II. A FEW FASTS, FESTIVITIES AND OBSERVANCES IN ORISSA.

By

NARAYAN TRIPATHI, B.A.

Of all parts in India, Orissa presents a peculiarly interesting field for anthropological and ethnological research. It is here that the three civilisations of ancient India, viz, the Non-Āryan or Pre-Āryan (S'āvarī or Naishādī), the Dravidian, and the Āryan (the Vedic or Brāhmanical) met and flourished together side by side, for centuries, not with a feeling of mutual hostility and hatred, but with a true neighbourly spirit of sympathy and reciprocation. The atmosphere thus created prepared a fertile field for the growth and development of the Orissan culture which is neither wholly Northern nor wholly Southern, and, although at present Āryan in outlook, is in fact neither wholly Āryan, nor wholly Dravidian nor wholly S'āvarī, but a conglomeration of all these influences with a substantial portion of indigenous growth.

Pargiter has identified the ancient "*Utkalas*" with the present Munḍā race. My information of the Purāṇic materials is not now sufficient enough either to accept or reject the proposed identification. The Bikram-Khola inscription recently discovered may, when correctly deciphered, throw some light in the matter. At present I

am inclined to believe that the *Purāṇic* "*Utkalas*" may more fittingly be equated with the ancient *S'avaras*.

The Hindu *S'āstras* have designated two quite different tribes as *Nishādas*. One tribe, said to have sprung owing to King Venās bad deeds, described to be of deformed decoration, (विकृतवेश) of burnt fire-wood-colour, (दग्धस्युष्णवर्ण), red eyes, black or curly hair, of short or dwarfish stature, strong constitution and cruel temperament, and living in the hilly tracts of the Vindhya mountains has been called as *Nishāda* and its sub-sects as "*Nishāda-gaṇas*."<sup>1</sup> This tribe apparently stands for the present *Munḍā* race. From the beginning the *Rushis* wielding both political and spiritual powers have assigned a degraded status to them and have enjoined a treatment of derision and nonco-operation towards them. The *Rāmāyaṇa* places (the further extremity of) the Vindhya hills in close proximity to the Mahendra Mountains. This implies that at one time the mountain ranges of Chotanagpur and Orissan States were being called or known as forming part of the Vindhya Range. This *Nishāda* or *Munḍā* race is still inhabiting in this region up to the present day.

The other group designated as *Nishāda* consists of a community of cross origin, or mixed Aryan descent. According to Manu, the son of a *Brāhmaṇa* by a *S'udrā* girl is called *Nishāda*. (Manu X. 8) and the profession of a *Nishāda* is fishery

(ibid, X. 48). Manu further says (ibid. 34) that the union of Nishādas with Ayogavī girls (the off—spring of a S'udra from a Vais'yā female is called Ayogava;—ibid 12) has brought forth a community or race (*jāti*) called 'Dāsa' which is called by the inhabitants of the Aryāvartta as "*Kaivartta*"; navigation is the means of livelihood of that race.

According to the Mahābhārata (Anu, 48) the son of a S'udra by a Kshattriya woman is the fish-killing Nishāda and from the Nishāda race were born the *Dāsa* children called Madguva, or, Madgu who have fishery and navigation (boating) as their profession. Assuming that the professions of individual communities have not undergone any radical change since the days of Manu and the Mahābhārata, we may take it for granted that the present day Kaivarttas of Orissa locally known as Keuṭas are the descendants of ancient Nishādas.

In the social rank, the Keuṭas of Orissa hold a position lower than that of the S'udras. In the Bengal Census Report of 1901 Sir Edward Gait has classified the Keuṭas of Orissa into two classes, viz, "Kewaṭ" and "Kaibartha" (besides the Rarhi and Niari) and has grouped them into Hindu castes whose touch defiles. I am unable to say how far this classification and grouping correspond to actual facts. In my part of the Puri District at least, where orthodoxy reigns supreme, no one considers himself defiled by the mere touch of a Keuṭa. No good Brāhmaṇa how-

ever cooks rice for his food in the house of a Keuṭa. In addition to fishery and country-boat-rowing the Keuṭas have another profession of preparing flattened rice called "*chudā*" and "*hudumva*" and these constitute the most important items in every Brāhmaṇa-feeding and in offerings to the gods and goddesses.

These Keuṭas have a time honoured tradition about their origin, habitat and professions. The tradition asserts that they were one of the most primitive people, the first rulers over the island of Lankā (Ceylone?), and that the professions of fishery and boat-rowing were their devine birth right. In commemoration of the tradition they annually celebrate a ceremony in the night of the *Chaitra Purnimā*, in which they worship (1) a wooden horse, (2) representation of a ship or *boita*, (3) a wooden husking machine called "*dhinki*" with which rice is pressed into "*chudā*," and (4) the fishing net. The wooden horse represents their once rulership over Lankā. The other three items represent their three hereditary professions.

In ancient times these Nishādas were not being treated as an unclean or untouchable race. In the pre-Mahābhāratan age the Brāhmaṇas sometimes used to marry Nishāda girls and live among them. (c. f. the story in Mbh. Adi, ch. 29). The S'antanu-Satyavati episode (ibid ch 100) clearly indicates that even in the Mahābhāratan age, the proudest Kshattriya Kings and the highest Brāhmaṇa sages did not hesitate to marry Dāsa

girls sometimes at a heavy sacrifice. Some Purāṇas too suggest that these *Dāsas* or *Dhivaras* were a group of the ancient *Pitru gaṇas*. If we take the *Nishādas* *alias* *Dāsas* *alias* *Dhivaras* in their true light, the reason why the Kalingan prince Ketumāna was also called a Nishāda prince (*Nishāda-tanaya*) in the Mahābhārata (Bhis, 51) becomes more intelligible and convincing. Considering their this ancient status, the Keuṭas of Orissa have since sunk very low in the scale of social rank.

Manu says (X, 43-44) that tribes such as Poundraka *Oudra*, Dravida, Kāmvoja, Yavana, S'aka, Pārada, Apahnaka, Chīna, *Kirāta*, Darada and Khas'a, are all Kshatriya castes (*Kshatriya-jātayah*), but they gradually attained *Vṛushalatva* or S'ūdrahood owing to the non-observance of their sacred duties in the absence of the Brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata (Anu, 33, 21-23) repeats the same story when it says that Kshatriya tribes such as S'aka, Yavana Kāmboja, *etc.* and Kshatriya tribes such as Dravida, *Kalinga*, Pulinda Us'nara, Kolasarpa, Māhishika *etc.* have been reduced to *Vṛushalatva* by not seeing (by incurring the displeasure of) the Brāhmaṇas. Any one observing the manners and customs of the Udra-Khaṇḍāetas of Orissa will be struck with the accuracy of these statements. They observe almost all the customs and usages of a Kshatriya clan, but they are not regarded as pure Kshat-

trīya by other communities, and do not ordinarily come into marriage-alliance with them.

The Mahābhārata has treated the *Kirātas* and *S'avaras* as two different groups and has classified the Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Chīnas, *S'avaras*, *Varvaras*, S'akas, Tushāras, Kankas, Pahlavas, Andhras, Madras, Poundras, Pulindas, Ramāthas and Kambhojas and all other communities who have sprung from the Brāhmaṇas and Kshattrīyas, under the general category "Dasyus" (cf. S'ānti, 65, 13-15). It has also definitely identified the *S'avaras* with the *S'udras* and says that in days of yore a Brāhmaṇa of the Goutama clan married a *S'avara* alias *S'ūdrā* widow and lived happily with her and begot children in a prosperous Dasyu village. Another orthodox Brāhmaṇa, however declined to take food in his house owing to his newly adopted conduct and association. (S'ānti, 168-172). The Orissan chronicle connected with Jagannatha—worship asserts that Brāhmaṇa Vidyāpati who went in search of the god *Nilā-Mādhava*, and arrived in the *S'avara* country where the god was being worshipped, married the daughter of Vasu or Vis'vā-Vasu,<sup>4</sup> the *S'avara*.

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<sup>4</sup> The name of Vasu or Vis'vā-Vasu is very prominent and popular in Orissan traditions. As mentioned above he is connected with the Jagannatha Chronicle. According to the Royal geneology of the Ranapur State, the Ranapur royal house was founded some 3600 years ago by two brothers of Venu dynasty whose names were Vis'vā-Vasu and Vis'vā-Vasava. They were originally ruling over Nilagiri Hill from whence they were driven out to Ranapur. The old inscriptional name of god Lingaraja at Bhuvanes'vara is Kruttivasa, and the god is so named after two Asura brothers Krutti and Vasa by name who once held sway over the locality. The Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela says in line 17 that Kharavela was born

Jagannatha ordained that the sons of Vidyā-pati by his S'abarani wife will be known as S'uddha-Suāras and will be entrusted with the duty of cooking in His Temple. The pure S'avara sons of Vasu's clan will be known as "*Daitās*" while the pure sons of Vidyāpati by his Brāhmaṇa wife will be His "*Sevaka*." No Oriya ever doubts the authenticity or historical substratum of this metamorphosis, and there is, in fact, nothing surprising in it. In the days of the Mahābhārata, the S'avaras were not being treated as an untouchable community and the sense of contempt odium or hatred was not then attached to the term S'avara, as at present. They were then being treated as S'ūdras and consequently the then prevailing conditions rendered it quite easy for the admission of the "S'uddha-Suāras," the "*Daitās*" and similar groups into Hindu or Aryan fold.

The Mahābhārata (Anu, 14, 141-42) however makes a reference to two classes of S'avaras, viz, S'avara and *Aranya-chara* (Āṭavya) S'avara, (Savaras living in forests). It also makes a significant statement (Santi, 207, 42-45) that the *Andhakas*, the *Guhās*, *Pulindas*, *Savaras* *Chuchukas* and *Madras* were born in the *Dakshināpatha*, and used to live an indifferent life without build-

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in the family of Rajarshi Vasu. Mr Jayaswal has identified this Vasu with Vasu Uparichara of the Chedi country of the Indian Mythology, but it is doubtful whether this identification fits in well with his interpretation of "*Cheti-rāja:vasa*" occurring in line. All these Vasus most probably were one and the same person—a S'avara king of Orissa of old.



ing homes etc. They were nomadic tribes and their *dharma* was those of crows and vultures. They existed before the four Castes were born. I submit that by this S'avara tribes, the Aranyachara S'avara groups have been meant, and that the present day different S'avara groups of Orissa including the Kelās are their descendants. The plain-living S'ūdra-S'avaras of Orissa have long been absorbed into one or other of the various sects forming the S'ūdra community and it is this S'avara group which contributed substantially to the formation of the old "Odra-Vibhāsā." It is also reliably understood that some Dravidian groups have similarly been absorbed in Orissa into the Aryan fold.

The friendly conglomeration and intermixture of different groups have enabled Orissa to retain in toto various customs, usages, fasts, festivities and religious beliefs and observances, some of which are believed to be of Dravidian or Non-Aryan origin. It would be an interesting and instructive study if any systematic attempt is made to trace in which part of India and among what tribes, similar customs and observances do exist at present, and in what form. A comparative study would help a great deal in determining their source of origin and development to the present form. With a view to facilitate the work of the Ethnologists and Anthropologists in this direction, I place below a brief account of a few Festivities, Fasts and Observances now prevailing in Orissa,

## I. The Raja Festival.

No other festival in Orissa commands such universal popularity, mirth and rejoicing as the Raja and the Dola, but the former is dearer and more attractive to the female-folk, whether high or low; old or young. The Raja commences on the last day of the solar month of Bṛusha (Jyeshṭha) and continues for three days. During these three days, Mother Earth is believed to be in her menses. The Jagannatha Paṇjikā (local almanac). enjoins

“Bṛushānte Mithunasyādou

tad-dvitiye dina-traye.

raja svalā syāt Pṛuthivī

Kṛushi-karma vigarhitam.

Halānam vāhanam chaiva

vijānām vapanam tathā.

tāvadeva na kurbīta

Yāvat Pṛuthvī rajasvalā.

Pṛuthvī rajasvalā yāvat

khananam chhedanam tyajet,

anya karmāṇi kurbīta

paityam daivam na\* mānusham.

(\* according to the other version, *cha*, )

“Kalpa-dāha Vratam, pramāṇam yathā :—

“Jyeshṭhāsādhakayormadhye kalpa-dāha dina  
trayam

Jyoshidbhih tatra kartavyam vratam vaisṇava  
muttamam.

*Translation.*

For three days, viz on the last day of Bṛusha, and the first and the second days of Mithuna, the Earth remains in her menses ; ( during these three days ) agricultural operations are forbidden. While the Earth is in her mense, ploughing as well as sowing of seeds should not be done. During the mense-period of the Earth, digging, and cutting ( or hewing ) should be given up. Other deeds—whether connected with the manes, gods or human beings, should not be done ( according to the other version, *should be done* ).

Kalpa-dāha vrata ; for authority :—" In the transition-period between the months of Jyeshṭha and Āshāḍha, Kalpadāha lasts for three days. The females should observe the good vaiṣṇava vrata during the period."

I am unable at present to trace out from what book or authority the above S'lokas ( Sanskrit verses ) have been taken, but the fact remains that at least in the districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore, the actual practice of observing the festival goes far beyond these injunctions. During the three Raja days the country appears to forget all her griefs and sorrows and plunges itself head-long, as it were, into the sea of mirth and joy. Both the rich and the poor equally participate in it, although with the inevitable difference imposed by pecuniary conditions ; but the spontaneous expression of sportfulness and merry-making becomes manifest more in the poor hamlets than in gaudy towns, more in the lower strata than in the higher planes, more in midst of the wretched living of

the half-starved peasant class than where people live an artificial life in plenty and prosperity. In short, it is a democratic festive institution.

The Raja is observed by each and every community, but the mode of observance is more elaborate, more complete among the Karāṇas, a powerful community of Orissa, vaguely equated with the Kāyasthas of Bengal and Bihar, but which in all probability has come of an independent and distinct stock, and most probably represents either the ancient Pitr̥u-gaṇas of the South, or, the S'aka-Kushāṇas of Orissa.

A very brief description of how the ceremony is observed in a Karāṇa-household is given below.

Eight days previous to the Raja, the housewife in each house sets her mind to preparation. Betel nuts are minced to pieces. Turmeric, spices and other sundry things are made into powder. Rice is also husked out of the paddy. All miscellaneous things required for the festival are purchased from *Hāṭas* (country-markets sitting on some fixed days a week) and kept ready in every house, so that nothing may be left to be purchased during the three Raja days. Custom forbids purchase of any thing during the Rajas.

The day previous to the 1st Raja day is called the "*Sajavāja dina*," preparatory day. On this day the Pāna (betel) leaves are made into halves with their main rib removed. Spices are ground into powder. One room (generally the spacious hall) in each house-hold is set apart for Raja festivities and is called the *Raja-ghara* (ghara=room). Many idols are well decorated

and kept in that Raja-ghara, well arranged. In the morning of the *Saja vāja* day pasted turmeric, mustard oil, tooth stick and pasted *methi* etc. are distributed by maiden girls to every house in the village. After distribution the girls gather together in one place and after anointing their bodies in turmeric-paste take their bath together in the common pond or river.

Preparation for making cakes, pudding and other items of sweets for the feast is made on that preparatory day. Rice is ground into flour and cocoanut is clawed into fine pulp. Vegetables, and other necessities are cut in pieces and kept ready for consumption during the following three days. Towards the evening the girls arrange their hair and bathe again. After bath they take meals and go to sleep. The elderly women finish the preparation of cakes during the night. In the last hour of the night they wake the little girls and maiden daughters of the house from sleep, anoint their bodies in turmeric paste, and make them put on gorgeous or beautiful *s'aris* and various sorts of ornaments and decorate their bodies in various other ways. The *sari* to be put on must be a new one, coloured yellow with turmeric paste. Sandal paste, vermilion paste, *kajvala* etc. form items for decorating the head and body with. Then the girls partake of the cakes (a particular kind of cake called "*Podā-pithā*," (burnt cake) and repair to the *Rajaghara*. One thing has to be said here. It is believed that walking bare-footed would wound the Earth; so the girls avoid walking or touching the earth with naked feet as far as practicable, during the

three Raja days. Some put on wooden sandals. But this is rather an uncommon thing. What is mostly used for this purpose is a kind of sandal or slipper prepared with the withered bark at the bottom of the leaf stalk of the betel-nut tree.

All sorts of work are forbidden during the Raja days. Only betels are prepared and freely distributed. Considerable workmanship is shown in preparing them. They are sometimes arranged in the form of trees and houses and presented to the respectable persons. The girls and maidens pass the whole day singing songs and swinging in swings suspended in the *Rajaghara* for the purpose. They very seldom come out of that room. Until the three Raja days pass, they would not bathe, nor use earth for cleaning purpose, nor would they even look at the face of men or crows. The bed sheets spread in the *Rajaghara* are not taken out, nor is the house cleaned. The bed is removed on the fourth day after the ceremony of bathing of the *Thakurāni* (Earth goddess) has been gone through.

The girls finish cleaning their teeth and go through all other daily routine before dawn and enter the *Rajaghara*. Various kinds of food are served for them there. They have got to take their last meal before evening, before the howling of jackals is heard. If while still at one's meal one happens to hear the howling of a jackal she must immediately give up eating.

The first day of the Raja is called *Pahili Raja*. Cutting, pounding, grinding and all other sorts of

household work are forbidden on this day. Only making of various sorts of puddings and delicious articles of feast-making and distributing them among themselves are permissible. The second Raja day is called the Raja-Samkrānti and the third Raja day the *Bhuim-Da-amṇa* (*Bhumi\* dō lana* = quake of the earth). On the second day cutting, grinding *etc.* and other domestic duties are done to some extent. On the third, *i.e.* *Bhuim-Da-am-na* day, the girls sit calm and quiet in one place; or play away the time. If they have to walk, they must walk very gently so as not to hurt the earth. On that day the girls distribute sweet meats and sugar-coated fried rice in the village.

The elderly women, too, enjoy the Raja days very heartily and observe the restrictions as far as practicable, though not so rigidly as the girls. They go in a body from lane to lane, and from village to village, visiting their relatives, kinsmen and acquaintances and paying respects to all gods, goddesses and village-*Ṭhākuraṇis* in the neighbourhood. Presents to young women consisting of particular kinds of fried rice and sugar-coated fried rice, called respectively as *Raja-bhujā* and *Raja-mum-ām*, pasted turmeric, mustard oil, fruits, betel-leaves, betel-nuts, spices, sometimes new *S'aris* and other items of the festivity, come from their father's house if they are in their husband's place, or, from their father-in-law's house if they are with their parents.

So far as to how the ceremony is observed in a *Karaṇa* house. Next to *Karaṇas*, come the *Khandā-*

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\* There is a belief that earth quake occurs on this day.

yatas, the Oḍa-Chasās and similar Pāṭakas (groups) whose manner of observance is almost similar. In the house of the Brāhmaṇas the details are not so elaborate. No particular house is set apart for *Rajaghara* and girls and maidens do not remain confined in a particular room as if in observance of the Raja or Mense ceremony. The custom of singing by the ladies and girls while playing in rope swings particular songs in sweet melodious rhymes and in chorus is not in vogue there. Many other details are however common to all communities, whether Brāhmaṇa or non-Brāhmaṇa.

The Raja is observed in principle by all groups forming the depressed class or Hari-jans of Ōṛissā, but in their case mostly "Chill penury repressed their noble rage. And froze the genial current of the soul." The "Bauris" (? descendants of ancient Barbaras) engage themselves, in some places, in hare-hunting and holding communal *pañchāets* and feasts.

So far is said as to how the female-folk observe the ceremony. The males, too, do not lag behind in adding to the merry-making of the gay occasion and in making the atmosphere full of mirth and joy. All the domestic work either in the field or at home having been forbidden or suspended, the whole times becomes available for play and sports, in which both the young and the old take sincere parts without any consideration of age, caste, creed, wealth or position. Dice-play is the favourite pastime with the old and the rich, while "Du-du play attracts the attention of the young. In the mango topes or in big banian trees strong rope swings with wooden planks are kept suspended and all villagers enjoys swing-play. The lea-



ders and wealthy people of the village organise Nāṭa (country dance) or pālā<sup>5</sup> (vide foot note) for general

<sup>5</sup> Pala is probably an unique feature in Orissa. A Pala-party consists of *gayaka* (the chief singer) who is invariably the leader, one *vayaka* (a player on *Mrudanga*, a kind of drum generally used in the *Samkirtanas*) and three or four *palias* whose function is to repeat in chorus what the *gayaka* sings, and to assist him in other ways. Some members of the party put on female dress, *ghangera*, and ornaments like the female-folk of the Gulgulia community of the up-country, while others appear with *choga* and *chapakan* with a turban on the head. All have *ghughumra* or tinkling bell-metal anklets tied to their feet. The *gayaka* holds a *chamara* (the tail-end of the *Chamari* cow stuck to a silver handle) in his left hand and a pair of *ginis* of moderate size in his right hand which he plays dexterously to the accompaniment of his song. The *vayaka* carries the *mrudanga* and the *Palias* pairs of big cymbals to play on. In the *jodi-pala* or *Jaulipala* two such parties take part.

In the central spot where *puja*, or *pala* is held, the ground is raised in a square form and is washed and purified with cow-dung-water. The surface is then painted with *chita* and *muruja*. (Various signs and symbols such as foot prints, lotus flowers, swastika and other auspicious signs, when painted with liquified *atapa*-rice paste are called *Chita* and when written with five different powders of different colours and substances [1. rice or chalk-powder, 2. red stone or brick-powder 3. tumeric-powder, 4. burnt cocoanut-shell powder and 5. Amlaki-leaf-powder] are called *Muruja*. There are some restrictions as to which symbol should be written with what *muruja*). At the four corners of this raised platform four stems of a certain plant (presumably Kanda-S'ara plant) of equal height, nearly a yard long and of second finger's thickness, with peacock feathers tied to the top-end of each, are planted. Each stem is joined to the other with flower garlands. Over the platform a small wooden *khatuli* is placed. Its surface, too, is painted with *muruja*. Over the surface of the *Khatuli* a piece of new cloth is spread. Over the cloth are placed five big, cleanly washed *Pana* (betel) leaves (which must be untorn), one in the middle and four on the sides, i.e., one on each side. Over each *Pana*-leaf

entertainment. Small or poor villages generally organise country dance called *Nāṭa-ākheḍā* or *yāta*, but in big and influential villages, specially in villages of

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are placed one uncut, fully developed betelnut and one big fully ripe plantain with their skins carefully removed. Over the top of each betelnut are given sandal paste and camphor paste with drops of perfume. In the front of the raised platform, to the east, the usual *Kalasa* or *Purna-kumbha* is kept. [The manner of placing the *ghata* or *Kalasa* (pitcher) is this:—A particular spot is purified with cow-dung and water. Over it one or two seers of paddy are kept, and over the paddy is placed a moderate-sized pitcher full of water to the brim. A stalk of mango-leaves is kept over the pitcher in the manner that the stalk should remain merged in the water while the leaves should touch the sides of the pitcher-mouth. Over the mango leaves is kept horizontally a green cocoanut with its stalk left unbroken. Over the cocoanut a piece of new cloth is spread. In the body of the pitcher, sandal pastes and vermilion-tips are given in a particular spot. In front of the sacred pitcher are burnt *ghee-dīpa* (lamp) and other incenses]. After the *kalasa-sthāpana* ceremony is over, all the important gods and goddesses, the eight *Digapalas*, the nine *Grahas*, the seven immortal ones and the village goddess are invoked and invited to remain in the *Kalasa*. Then *puja* offerings are offered to these invited gods and goddesses. After the *Kalasa-puja* is over, the Five important gods of the Hindu Pantheon, viz, (1) *S'iva*, (2) *Durga* or *Ambika* His consort, (3) *Ganesh* His son, (4) *Narayana* (*Vishnu*) and (5) *Bhaskara* (the *S'un-god*) are invoked in fixed *S'āstric* order and each is offered a seat in one of the five betelnuts placed over the *pana* in the *khatuli* kept over the raised platform. When a particular god is invoked his favourite flowers and leaves (either of *Vela* tree or of *Tulasi* plant as the case may be), incense and perfumes, sandal and camphor pastes are given to the betelnut intended for him. After the arrival of these five gods, a *puja* or offering is performed on a big scale. Then each *pala*-party plants its respective big *kanda-sara* (bow-arrow), in front of the raised platform and then the actual *pala* begins.

commercial centres, *pālā* — *dāṇḍa pālā* or *jāuli-pālā* — generally takes place. In the villages which cannot afford to hold any such entertainments, the villagers go to the villages where these are held.

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Generally the *pala* parties show their performances in one side (mostly the eastern side) of the raised platform, its three other sides being occupied by the audience, respectable and the elderly persons sitting on mats or *durries* in the front rows, but sometimes two opposite sides are set apart for convenience of the two rival parties. One party stands, shows its performance for nearly two hours and then it retires being followed quickly by the rival party. Thus the *pala* is made to continue throughout the day and night with brief interruptions for the performance of daily routine and food. In any case the afternoon and the whole night are considered as the best and the most suitable time for it. Its duration varies from one day to one month or even more according to the capacity, financial or otherwise, of the organisers.

The *Pala* commences with<sup>2</sup> laudatory hymns, both in Sanskrit and in Oriya sung by one party in honour of one of five gods mentioned above, but it soon develops into a pure literary performance of a very high order of ancient Oriya poetry, accompanied with very intricate musical skill and occasional dance. The sole aim of the party is to entertain the audience with its stock of very difficult songs studded with numerous Sanskritic, rare and obsolete words of ancient Oriya poets, with all their possible interpretations and explanations. Songs full of rhetoric and prosody, songs having more than one meaning, sometimes three or four, and peculiar songs having *S'runkhala* (chain) throughout are invariably preferred, and the party having a greater stock of them wins the day in the estimation of the audience. Sometimes the elders, in order to test the merit of the party, demand a particular song to be sung to them to suit the particular hour of the day or a particular occasion, and if the *Gayaka* (singer) of the party fails to satisfy the audience, he is made to sit down or retire then and there, and the other party is called upon to pass the test. These tests require the *Gayaka* to be somewhat of a poet himself to be able to compose, if necessary songs

Some families, particularly of the Karaṇa and Khandāyat communities observe the festival so rigidly that no cooking is allowed in their homes on the first and third Raja days as ignition or burning of

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then and there, and to be of strong presence of mind. For this reason, some Gayakas sometimes lie prostrate without food or drink for days together before the goddess Śārala at the village of Jhankada in the district of Cuttack, and in the end some of them cut out a portion of their tongues with knives in order to propitiate and please the goddess and acquire from her poetical faculty. This practice has become almost obsolete now a days.

It is indeed a pleasure to attend a *pala*. No where else can one expect to hear so many old songs on varied subjects with satisfactory explanations and comments. It is unfortunate that such *pala* parties whose number some 40 years ago was more than a hundred are now a days fast dwindling down owing to paucity of patronage, spread of modern literature and ideas, continued famine conditions, malaria and other pestilences and growing poverty that appear to have made Orissa its favourite permanent abode.

*Palas* or *Pujas* as they are sometimes called are of two kinds viz, (1) *Pothi-pala* or *pothi-puja* and (2) *Danda-pala*. The preliminaries, i.e., raising and decorating the platform, placing a *khatuli* or *pidha* over it, spreading new cloth on its surface and keeping five *pana* leaves with ripe plantains and betelnuts devoid of skins over the cloth, setting up the pitcher in front of the platform, invoking all important gods goddesses to it, offering incense and *puja* to them, are exactly the same in both. The difference is that in a *pothi-puja*, the platform is raised in the courtyard within the enclosure wall, or sometimes within the *thakura-ghara* (the room containing the household dieties). The whole family and selected kinsmen and villagers are invited to hear this *pala*. The family-priest or the *gayaka* aided by one or two *palias*, singer-associate sings out in chorus one of *pala*-story-verses from the *pothi* or manuscript. The ceremony which besides the preliminaries, is strictly confined to singing laudatory hymns of gods and goddesses and the *pala*-story only, is over within two to three hours when the distribution of *prasada*, offerings takes

fire is one of the forbidden acts on the occasion of the Raja, but as this is not practicable, or feasible in big families, specially in families having little children, this custom of refraining from cooking is generally willingly ignored.

place. The *Sirini* (a preparation of ripe plantain, milk, powdered rice or flour and spices etc) plays an important and invariable part in the *Bhoga*, offerings. The *pala*-stories which are sixteen in number and have been rendered into verse in peculiarly mixed Oriya by Kavi (poet) Karna, are all devoted to eulogising glorifying, the influence and greatness of Satya Pira, or Pira-Pakambara. He is very fond of *Sirini* and instances are quoted in which a man or woman passing through very bad days suddenly finds his or her fortune altered if he or she happens to offer *Sirini* to Pira Pakambara. There are also equal number of instances in which very influential and affluent persons suddenly or rather miraculously find themselves in the lowest ladder of misfortune if they happen to refuse Satya Pira's request for *Sirini*, or, disregard or insult his devotees ; and they continue to remain in that strait till they repent, offer the desired *puja* and make solemn promise to continue the *puja* for some years to come. Offer of *Sirini* and *puja* to Satya Pira is told to bring fulfilment of all desired ends. So persons having no children generally take vows that if they would get a son they would perform all the sixteen *palas*, or at least some of them. If, subsequently they get sons they faithfully carry out their promise. Sometimes persons offer *pujas* for different objects, such as, recovery from illness, winning doubtful case etc. etc. In any case, the popularity of this *Puja* still continues.

It is said that some Mogal Badashaha of Delhi desired all his subjects to be Muhammadans and imposed heavy *jiziya* tax upon his non-Muhammadian subjects, and that since then the Hindus of Orissa have adopted this form of worship *en masse* in order to save their skin and purse, and, to deceive the Muhammadan Inspectors.

In the case of the Danda-pala the position is different. It is generally held in a public place of vantage, mostly under a big banian tree, or a mango tope, preferably in the front of the village

On the morning of the fourth day the "Vasumātā-gādhūā" or the bathing ceremony of the Mother Earth takes place. The maiden girls and daughters, and the elderly house-wives rise from bed in the very early morning, before dawn, go to the river or village pond together and take their bath after anointing their bodies with turmeric paste. After their bath they come back to their respective homes, put on good clothes, and ornaments, and take vermilion and *kajjala* tips. Filled with a spirit of devotion and reverence, they wash a spot at the foot of the *Chaurā* (the raised ground in the courtyard where the *Tulsi* plant is grown) with cowdung-water, and a *piṛhā* (a log of wood of some specified tree, cut and shaped according to the prescribed fashion) cleanly washed and sanctified is placed there. Over the *piṛhā*, a *s'ila-puā* (a rounded piece of stone used in every house-hold for grounding turmeric, spices *etc.*) is kept in a standing position. By its side a plough-share is placed. Both are anointed with turmeric paste and then water is poured over them to the accompaniment of *huluhuli* sounds from the female-folk. Then a *kajjala-pāti* (iron case for keeping *kajjala*), a *Sindura-pharuā* (wooden vermilion case) and a bit of cotton are kept besides the plough-

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temple. It is practically an exhibition of literary skill and can be continued for any length of time. The use of female garments by some members of the *pala*-party suggests its original introduction by the dancing girls, while the use of symbolic arrows and arrow-cases for the protection of the five gods in all the *palas* indicates its antiquity and continuity amidst hostile environments. The use of *Pana*-leaves and ripe plantain presents a riddle worthy of investigation.

share and the *silapua*) and the latter are marked with sandal-paste and vermilion marks and decorated with flower. *Dhupa* (incense) and *ghee* are burnt and the *Arati* is offered with *ghee-dipa* (earthen lamp) or simply *ghee-valita* (a little piece of cloth fully soaked with *ghee* and twisted round). Then offerings are offered, and *Panchāmrita* (mixture of a little quantity of *ghee*, milk, curds, honey, and sugar-candy sometimes, a bit of ripe plantain, cheese and *gur* being mixed) is poured upon the earth to cool down the Earth-goddess.

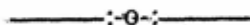
After the *Vasumātā gādhua*, the girls and ladies of the house take sandal-paste and vermilion marks on their foreheads, and hand over the plough-shares to the plough-men who fix them to the plough and repair to the fields with baskets of paddy-seeds on their heads to sow. Then the normal conditions return and the daily routine of the busy household life is restored with fresh vigour. On the *Vasu mātā gādhua* day seven kinds of green leaves are mixed together, fried and distributed. In the afternoon the girls walk from house to house in the village.

It may be observed that the household pounding-stone is made to represent the Mother Earth on these occasions and is given due respect and worship. On other occasions this stone represents the god Ganesa and in a marriage ceremony this represents the hill or hillock. There are many villages in Ōṛissā where the village goddess (*grāma-dēvata*, *grāma-thākuraṇi*) is worshipped in the shape of exactly similar stones. In the Indus Valley excavations similar stones have been

unearthed from places of worship, and they have been taken or interpreted by competent scholars as representing the Linga-Worship of the Non-Aryans who were the authors of the Indus valley civilisation.

It is understood that the Sanskrit S'lokas quoted in the beginning have been taken from Gadādhara Paddhati the Ōṛissān S'mṛiti which, like the Raghunandana's Smṛiti in Bengal, is widely respected in Ōṛissā. It is also said that the said S'mṛiti was compiled nearly two hundred years ago. If so, it only proves how a time-honoured widely popular custom did at last assert itself in winning S'āstric sanction, and regular recognition.

(To be continued).





## ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The twenty-second session of the *INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS* was held in Calcutta on 2nd-9th January, 1935 with Dr. J. H. Hutton, Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, Assam, as its General President and Dr. G.S. Ghurye, Reader in Sociology, University of Bombay, as the President of the Anthropology Section. On the 2nd of January, the session was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India amidst a large and distinguished gathering mostly of scientists coming from the different academic and scientific centres of India. This year it was a singular event to anthropologists in India, since it was the first occasion in the history of the Congress when an anthropologist had been chosen to occupy the place of General President. We are glad that the choice had so judiciously fallen upon Dr. Hutton to whom all students of Indian Ethnology will ever remain under a debt of gratitude for his valuable monographs on the Nagas of Assam.

The Anthropology Section was assembled on 3rd-7th January in which altogether 22 papers, contributed by the members, were read; and each of the papers was thoroughly discussed by the members present. "*Anthropology and our Educational System*" was the subject on which Dr. Ghurye delivered his Presidential address. Of the papers which were read before the Congress, the following deserve to be mentioned here:—Dr. A. Chatterji—*A Preliminary study of the interrelations of vital capacity with certain body measurements of Bengalee students*; Dr. P. Mitra—

*The origin and antiquity of the wheel with special reference to India* ; Dr. P. Mitra and S. Sirkar—*Biometric study of fossil human skulls* ; Dr. B. N. Datta—*Trace of Darwin's tubercle in the ears of peoples of North and East Bengal* ; Dr. B. N. Datta—*An inquiry into foot and stature correlation of the people of Bengal* ; J. K. Gan—*Os Japonicum in Bengali Crania* ; Capt. R. N. Basu and J. K. Gan—*A Preliminary study on the Blood-group of Bengalees* ; L. D. Munn—*Prehistoric discoveries in the Raichur District* ; J. K. Bose—*Change of culture among the Plains Garos* ; J. K. Bose—*Clan Grouping in Assam* ; G. Ahmed Khan—*The Bhils of Khandesh*. N. Chakrabarty—*An ethnic analysis of the culture-traits in the marriage customs as found among Radhiya Brahmins of Bengal* ; J. K. Gan—*Studies in Santal's Hair* ; S. Singh—*Juridical Ethnology of Nagas, Kukis, and Meitheis* ; and Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis—*Further studies in Bengali Profiles*. Prof. H. C.

Chakladar, of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, has been elected President of the Anthropology section for the twenty-third session to be held in January, 1936 at Indore.

The Ninety-fifth annual meeting of the AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE was held at Pittsburgh on December 27—January 2, '35. The section of Anthropology was presided over by Prof. T. Wingate Todd of the Western Reserve University who delivered his address on "Anthropology and Growth." Other lectures on Anthropology were also delivered on this occasion notably among them

being the Sigma XI address by Prof. E. A. Hooton of Harvard on "Homo Sapiens,— whence and whither" and an illustrated lecture by Prof. H. H. Newman of Chicago on "Twins reared apart and the nature and nurture problem." Mr. N. C. Nelson of the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, has been elected President of this section for the ninety-sixth meeting.

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF EUGENIC ORGANIZATIONS was held at Zurich at Waldhaus Dolder Hotel on 18th-21st July 1934. The entire arrangement of the Federation was in the hands of two organizations Julius Klaus Stiftung and Swiss Psychiatric Society, excellent exhibits on plant breeding experiments, transmissin of feather cock and skulls discovered in prehistoric sites were shown on that occasion. Altogether 50 scientists attended this session. Interesting discussions were made by specialists on almost every branch in Eugenics but those that have direct bearing on anthropology will be mentioned here. Anthropological papers read before the Federation mainly related to three important problems—(i) psychological tests, (ii) investigations on twins and (iii) human heredity. In the first, Dr. M. Steggerda dwelt upon the difficulties he met with in the course of his field investigations amongst the Mayas in Yucatan, Metis in Jamaica, Indians in Arizona. He was in close agreement with Prof. Rodenwaldt as to the racial variation in mental faculty chiefly in regard to music. Both were, however, of opinion that in judging the much finer discrimination in music the tests which were usually considered to be

satisfactory among the White population, would prove unfruitful in the cases of Negroes and Yellow races. In the second, Prof. von Verschür of Berlin described some of the unpublished results of his investigations about the differentiation of identical and non-identical twins. He rejected the chorion as a criterion for determination on the ground that "in 52 cases with double chorion, 12 proved to be identical and 40 non-identical." He also gave an account of the frequency of tuberculosis among twins in which he pointed out that 69 per cent of cases of identical twins were affected with tuberculosis while among the non-identical twins only 26 per cent of cases were found to be affected. Besides these, Dr. Sanders communicated eight cases of homo-sexuality among twins. In human heredity an interesting paper on palmar print notation was read by Prof. Ride of Hongkong in which he pointed out that palmer prints varied according to races. The value of the inheritance of finger and palmar pattern in forensic medicine was put forward in a valuable paper by Prof. Reichl of Vienna. Cases of doubtful paternity, in his opinion, could be determined by examining the transmission of dominant pattern.

Under the gracious patronage of His Majesty The King of Belgians, the *sixteenth* International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology (XVI<sup>e</sup> Congress International d'Anthropologie et d'Archeologie Prehistorique will be held at Brussels on 1st-8th September 1935. It is reported that simultaneously with the Congress the sixth General Assembly of the International Institute of Anthropology (VI<sup>e</sup>

Assemblée Générale de l'Institut International d'Anthropologie) will also meet. The Congress will consist of five sections which are as follows :—

- I. Morphological and Functional Anthropology  
Blood Groups.
- II. Human Palaeontology. Prehistoric Archaeology.
- III. Heredity, Eugenics, Selection.
- IV. Psycho-sociology. Criminal Anthropology.
- V. Ethnography—Folklore—Linguistic.

An organising committee has been formed to carry out the programme with Prof. C. Fraipont and Dr. L. Dekeyser as its President and General Secretary. The following scientists will represent their respective countries in the International Committee of Scientific Preparation :—Prof. C. Fraipont (Belgium); Dr. M. Reygasse (Algeria and North Africa); Dr. W. Koppers (Austria); Dr. S. Hansen (Denmark); Prof. Pacheco (Spain); Prof. C. Peabody (United States of America); Dr. Moore (Estonia); Prof. K. Hilden (Finland); Dr. Louis Marin (France); Prof. J. Koumaris (Greece); Prof. Kleiweg de Zwaan (Holland); Prof. Myjsberg (Netherlands); Prof. S. Sergi (Italy); Prof. R. Torii (Japan); Prof. Ballodis (Lithuania); Dr. A. Genin (Mexico); Dr. Schreiner (Norway); Prof. Poniatowski (Poland); Prof. H. Monteiro (Portugal); Prof. A. C. Germansda Silva Correia (Portuguese India); Dr. Minovici (Rumania); Prof. Hindze (Russia); Dr. Arne (Sweden); Prof. E. Pittard (Switzerland); Dr. Schranil (Czechoslovakia); Mrs. Dr. P. Luisi (Uruguay); Dr. Zupanich (Yugoslavia).

The subscription which is 80 Frs., as well as communications to be read before the Congress are to be sent respectively to the following addresses :—

1. The General Secretary of the Congress, Dr. Dekeyser, 9, Rue des Sablons. Brussels.
2. The Secretary, L'Institut International d'Anthropologie, 15 Rue de l'Ecole-de-Médecin. Paris.

We note with regret that the twenty-sixth session of the International Congress of Americanists which was mentioned as having been held immediately after the International Congress of anthropological and ethnological Sciences in our last issue could not be actually held then but has been postponed on account of the financial and political distress in Spain.

In '*Anatomischer Anzeiger*' Band 17, 1934, Nos. 10/11, it is reported that an Embryological Institute was founded at Lund (Sweden) on October 13, 1934 with the object of conducting investigations in vertebrate embryology. This Institute, which will be henceforth known as Tornblad Institute of Comparative Embryology, owes its existence to Dr. Hjalmar Tornblad of Stockholm whose vast collection of embryos of different vertebrates comprising from Pteromyzon down to man will constitute its basis. Prof. Dr. Ivar Broman will, in addition to his own duties as Director of the Anatomical Institute, act as its Director. The Institute is provided with quarters for workers so generously erected by the donor,—a feature so rare in other

similar institutes. The laboratory will be open to all interested in this branch of study as soon as space will permit this. The workers will have to abide by the by-laws of the Institute, the most important of them being that the specimens can under no circumstances be taken out of the Institute. Together with the Institute of Race Biology at Upsala, this institute is expected to supply us with new information concerning race ontogeny—a field where there is still ample scope for work. We wish god-speed to this new Institute and expect that workers in this country will soon attempt to establish something like this Institute in India.

In *Revue Anthropologique*, Juillet-September, 1934, an appeal has been issued to the members of the International Institute of Anthropology by M. P. Saintyves, Director of the *Revue Anthropologique*, in conjunction with *Société de Folklore colonial* and *Société préhistorique Française* with a view to collecting data about the customs, usages, beliefs and legends relating to prehistoric implements or monuments. It is also stated that a detailed questionnaire will be sent to the members on request. Collections of these rites, etc., will appear in the form of a book entitled "*Corpus du Folklore Préhistorique en France et dans les Colonies Françaises.*" It will be completed in five or six volumes of which the first volume has just appeared.

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## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

*Man* for March, 1935, publishes a summary of a communication presented by Mrs. Eileen and Dr. J. Macfarlane on *Hill Tribes and Fisherfolk of Travancore*. It contains accounts of the Kanikkars, an aboriginal tribe of nomadic agriculturists and hunters of South Malabar and Travancore who are divided into three separate geographical groups, each with a distinct range, and live in temporary settlements of from 11 to 15 huts. They use a cross-bow in hunting and a pellet or sling bow for keeping away birds and monkeys from their crops, and make baskets and mats from the split stems of reed. The tribe is divided into two exogamous phratries each consisting of three clans or *illoms*. The children belong to the mother's *illom* and often marry back into the father's. Polygyny and widow marriage are permitted; and their boys and unmarried men sleep together in a Bachelors' Hall which also serves as the Council Hall. They bury their dead and worship spirits of certain groves and mountain-tops as well as the implements of their ancestors. A brief comparison is made between the Kanikkars and the Paniyans and also with the Uralis. A short account is also given of the Dravidian Mukuvars or Fisherfolk of Travancore who are descended from Catholic Christian converts of the Paravan caste. All have a holy medal strung around their necks.

In *FolkLore* for December, 1934, G. I. Davys contributes a note on *Fairies in the Lower Simla*



*Hills, India.* In the Lower Simla Hills in the neighbourhood of Dharampur and Kasauli the fairies are supposed to be of the female sex, some seven inches high, who live in the winter in the trunks of pine trees and in the summer come out and dance on the flowers, particularly bridges of flowers such as flowering creepers or branches trailed along palings. Some of these fairies are green and some are blue. They are good-natured and beneficent and very fond of sweets, and prefer moonlight nights for their dancing. In Patiala State there is a mountain which is some 5,000 ft. high and called the Hill of the Fairies. A Fairy story connected with this Hill is that seven fairies,—all ladies of almost the size of human beings,—lived on it. One of them first encountered an attractive young fisherman. All seven fell in love with him, and one of them wished to turn him into a river-god. The other six objected and drove her to a higher hill that was bleak and cold, and thenceforth came to be known as the Hill of the Fairy. The young fisherman used to cry and lament his beloved so persistently that the six remaining fairies drowned him in the Giri river. The love-lorn lady-love on the summit of her cold hill, ignorant of his death, still laments and calls for him on the bleak hill top.

In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1934, Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta contributes an article *On a type of Sedentary Game of Bengal*, popularly known as *Tuk-tak*, Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra contributes three Notes, one on *Plant-lore from Bihar*, another on the *Cult of the Agricultural Deities, Sama and Chako, in North Bihar*, and a third on the

*Worship of the Plough in North Bihar*; and Messrs K. P. Chattopadhyay and N. K. Basu contribute a paper on *The Manda Festival of Chota Nagpur*.

In *Indian Culture* for January, 1935, Dr. B. C. Law contributes a paper on *Some Ancient Indian Tribes* in which he deals with the *Kirātas*, the *Pulindas*, the *Bhojas*, the *Mutibas*, the *Muruṇḍas*, the *Daradas*, the *Kulindas*, the *Rāṣṭrikas*, and the *Bhargas*, as referred to in ancient Sanskrit literature. In the same number of the Journal, Mr. P. C. Biswas writes a short note on *The Lapchas of Sikkim*; Miss Bhramar Ghosh discusses *The Caste of the Satabāhana Rulers of the Deccan* who rose to the height of their power after the downfall of the Sungas, and inclines to the view that they were Kshatriyas. Dr. A. Chatterjea makes a *Preliminary Study of the Rate of Growth of the Bengalee Students*; Mr. J. K. Gan records *Some Observations on the Fijian Hair*; and again Mr. J. K. Gan in collaboration with Mr. R. N. Basu contributes *Studies in Pulse and Respiration Rates among the Bengalis*.

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for December, 1934, Mr. H. V. Trivedi continues his *Studies in Ancient Geography*.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for June, 1934, Dr. A. S. Altekar contributes an illuminating paper on *Yajnopavita* or "*The Sacred Thread*," in which he shows that the original denotation of the *yajnopavita* was the upper garment, normally a piece of cloth, worn in the proper manner prescribed for sacred occasions, that is to say, by

passing it under the right and over the left shoulder ; and that in pre-historic times when the art of weaving was not known, it was a piece of deer-skin, and, in later times, when *yajnopavīta* as a piece of cloth was replaced by *yajnopavīta* in the form of a thread, this piece of deer-skin was strung on it [as is still done at the time of *Upanayana*]. Originally the *Yajnopavīta* was to be worn on sacred occasions like the sacrifice or the prayer and not continuously ; but in course of time it came to be invested with mysterious efficacy ; but even when it dwindled into the "sacred thread," it could be occasionally removed in the course of the day.

In the *Buddha-Prabhā* for January, 1935, Dewan Bahadur N. D. Mehta discusses *How modern Hinduism was moulded by Buddhism*,

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

### *Ethnology.*

**The Method and Theory of Ethnology.**—By *Paul Radin*. (Macgraw-Hill Book Co. New York and London, 1933). Price \$ 2.50.

In this interesting "Essay in Criticism" as the author characterizes it, a critical examination is made of the different methods and theories underlying modern anthropology, particularly in the United States. Of the three different attitudes taken by different schools of ethnologists toward the purpose of ethnology,—namely, first, that it enables us to reconstruct stages in the evolution of culture, secondly, that it demonstrates the enormous diversity in forms of culture developed since the beginning of time; and, thirdly, that it need properly have no purpose over and above that of being a specific account of a given culture,—the third attitude is the basic view-point of our author's work. According to him, the primary task of the culture historian is "to describe a specific culture as he finds it, without any reference to what has preceded or what is to follow....The investigation of processes as such or the attempt to construct cultural typologies not only are outside his province but are likely to interfere with the proper and efficient characterization of the cultural epoch he is portraying". (p. 32). As regards the unsuitability of the quantitative method, our author points out that "Ethnology deals with culture, and that should effectively dispose of any attempt to graft upon it a method appropriate to and developed for the natural

sciences." (p. 184) The task of the ethnologist or culture-historian is thus indicated :—" A description of a specific period, and as much of the past and as much of the contacts with other cultures as is necessary for the elucidation of the particular period. No more. This can only be done by an intensive and continuous study of a particular tribe, a thorough knowledge of the language, and an adequate body of texts, and this can be accomplished only if we realize, once and for all, that we are dealing with specific, not generalized, men and women, and with specific, not generalized, events. But the recognition of specific men and women, should bring with it the realization that there are all types of individuals and that it is not, for instance, a Crow Indian who has made such and such a statement, uttered such and such a prayer, but a particular Crow Indian. It is this particularity that is the essence of all history and it is precisely this that ethnology has hitherto balked at doing. It is a mistake to believe that it cannot be done any more." (pp. 184-5) By way of illustration Dr. Radin goes on to state how the Winnebago originator of the Peyote cult dictated to him an account of his conversion to the religion and his attempts at spreading it among his own people; and that "this document assumed its proper perspective only when it was viewed in a specific sense."

It should, however, be remembered, that individuals of outstanding personality are much rarer in primitive society than in civilized society and the primitive man's memory of the past inventors and innovators of his community is

short. The author's criticisms of both the qualitative and quantitative methods of approach to ethnology are acute and generally sound, but it may perhaps be questioned whether subjective interpretation of the data of ethnology should under all circumstances be absolutely tabooed, although of course such interpretation must not be mixed up with nor allowed to colour the presentation of facts.

Although the author has discussed the ethnological approach of Western ethnographers, no reference whatsoever has been made to the methods and viewpoints of ethnographers elsewhere.

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**The Racial Myth.**—*By Paul Radin.* (Macgraw-Hill Book Co. 1934). \$ 1. 50.

In this thought-provoking and delightfully-written book the author, by a popular review of the history of civilization and the contributions of the various races, mixed and unmixed, shows how all races have combined in the building of modern culture, and that these contributions are inextricably interlocked, so that the vaunted racial superiority of the "Nordics" is a myth and an illusion. Incidentally it is pointed out that there never was an Aryan race; and that the Germans are not, to any extent, Nordic. Prof. Radin adduces reasons to conclude that in the coming struggle for power, the Russians, the Americans and the Jews, will be the leaders of the revolt against the

old nationalistic and racial illusions of particular superiority, inasmuch as they possess the three requisite advantages, namely, a past that has been completely discarded, and a living and intimate acquaintance with members of another race. Written in a popular and lively style, this informative and thoughtful little book will appeal to a wide circle of readers.

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**Semitic and Hamitic Origins : Social and Religious.**—By George Aaron Barton. (*University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia. 1934*) 17 s. net.

In this volume, the learned author discusses the origin and distribution of the peoples classed in the Genesis respectively as Hamitic and Semitic, and the rise of certain of their fundamental institutions. The book is divided into ten chapters of which the first three discuss the racial composition and affinities of the Semitic and Hamitic peoples the fourth chapter deals with the Early Semitic and Hamitic social life, and the remaining chapters deal with their religious origins. From a detailed comparison of languages, Prof. Barton finds clear evidence of kinship between the Semitics and Hamitics. Both these peoples had their origin in North Africa, from where, according to our author, one branch of the Hamites migrated into South Africa across the Babel-Mandeb Straits and became the progenitors of the Semites who thus had Arabia as their area of characterization.

The Semites, with perhaps the exception of the Northern Arabs, have, our author thinks, originated through "fusion in a melting-pot with other races." In our author's view, available craniological data go to support the above inferences drawn from linguistics. The author's survey of the origins of social and religious life of the Semites and Hamites is also highly interesting and instructive. The book is a valuable contribution to the problem of origins and the early culture of the Semitic and Hamitic peoples.

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**Indo-Aryan Literature and Culture.**—By Nagendra Nath Ghose. (*The Book Company, Calcutta, 1934*). Rs 8/-

This is a valuable and stimulating contribution to the study of the history and evolution of Indo-Aryan culture. The author's conclusions have been summarised by himself as follows :—

That the Indo-Aryan Literature-cum-Culture is not the single-lined metabolic evolution it is generally believed to be of a pure-blooded Aryan organism ; that, on the other hand, it is a synthetic product, whereof the material elements were in the main of Non-Aryan Eastern Vratya origin ; that nevertheless it was the highly educated Aryan brain and the organising Aryan genius which played the determinative part in giving that product the shape and direction it is seen to have taken.

That intensively and extensively the Aryan settlements were very much more educated than the bulk of the population in the Vratya East ; that the ruling Vratya Rajanyas nevertheless were a highly cultivated race, intellectually and otherwise far in advance even of the Aryan Brahmans (the most highly



educated as well as the ruling element in the Vedic settlements), the rest of the Vratya population being sunk in (not poverty, but) general ignorance and superstition.

That of the Indo-Aryan Literature taken as a whole, the Upanisads and the Puranas, were *basically* derived from purely Eastern Vratya sources, the Trayi (Rik, Sama and Yajur Vedas) having been (in a similar manner) *basically* of purely Vedic Aryan origination.

That the synthesis of the two cultures, was first brought about in Magadha; that it was made possible and even easy of accomplishment owing to the *Vratyastoma* Conversion ceremony; that this was a political rather than a religious ceremony which the early Aryan settlers of the Panjab had evolved from the necessity in which they stood of constantly replenishing their man-power in the environment of struggle and strife in which they were cast; that the *Vratyastoma* ceremony which "Aryanised" the Eastern Vratya peoples and countries was no mere passive bridge, for in material ways it conditioned that synthesis. Caste, for instance, which was unknown in the Vedic Aryan settlements, got access into and a foothold in the Aryan scheme of life through it. *Asrama*, too, being Upanisadic in origin, came from the Vratya East.

That no people were freer from caste-consciousness and religious fanaticism than were the early Aryan Brahmans in whose plastic hands fittingly fell the task of starting and subsequently organising this synthetic culture, which for that reason fully deserves the designation of "Neo-Aryanism" and not "Neo-Non-Aryasim." That the one just mentioned has not been the only pre-conception and personal predilection which the author has found himself constrained to sacrifice under the suasive influence of data which came into his hands in the course of his investigations.

That the originally transmitted saga-stuff concerning Eastern Vratya royalties which later got transformed into the highly Brahmanised extant written Puranas came first in order of time. The Atharvan Collection came next, being the first representative of the Literature of the synthesis and having originated in the practical demand that arose in Vratya land for a Priests' *Vade Mecum* for

Aryan Brahmins officiating for (*pro forma* Aryanised) Vratya *yajmanas*. As a repercussion thereof arose the movement for collecting and "Redacting" the orthodox Vedic ritualistic material.

That the Atharvanic Collection, had unavoidably to be much more than what may be understood to belong to a Priests' Manual of the present day. In it are to be found the seeds of the Upanisads and of exegesis of the type which reared itself into such monstrous proportions in the Brahmana Books. Atharvanic intrusions into the Trayi which the Redaction failed to keep on, the author has endeavoured to indicate in Section XII. In the concluding Section he has tried his hand at the immensely more difficult task of restoring the saga-stuff *brahmanised* well-nigh beyond recognition, in the extant Mahabharata. (pp. iii-v).

Though readers may not entirely agree with the author in all his view-points and conclusions, there can be no two opinions about the refreshing originality, sound scholarship and critical acumen which the author has brought to bear upon the discussion of his subject. This erudite volume will, we venture to think, be read with profit and pleasure by students of Hindu culture.

**Deserts and the Birth of Civilizations.**—By A. J. McInerny, (Herbert Clark. Paris. 1931).

A subsidiary title of this little book is "Does the White Man owe his being to the great Deserts?" And the author's answer to this query is in the affirmative. He says, "The desert is the true Fatherland of civilized man....If Africa did not exist, Europe

would be swept by wet winds from a tropical ocean." The author concludes by saying,—“This essay has for its motto—*No desert, No Civilization*; and the author sincerely trusts that it may prove to be a small contribution to the science of ethnological research, and may help towards a proper appreciation of the economical value of those regions generally termed ‘sterile’ but which in fact endow our atmosphere with its most precious qualities.” The author’s proposition that “the deserts are immense laboratories which disinfect the air” may be wholly correct, but that they “create an atmosphere particularly propitious to the development of the intellectual faculties,” may be very well doubted. However, the question mooted by the author deserves further investigation.

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**Three Essays on Sex and Marriage.**—By *Edward Westermarck* (Macmillan, 1934). 12s. 6d. net.

This valuable work is a suitable supplement to the author’s standard *History of Human Marriage*. In the first essay, Dr. Westermarck discusses and criticizes Freud’s Psycho-analytic theory which traces the origin of exogamy to the Freudian hypothesis of the “Oedipus complex.” According to the simpler explanation which Dr. Westermarck favours, the incest taboo rests upon the generally observed disinclination for sexual union between persons who have been brought up in close intimacy from childhood. In the second essay the more recent theories of exogamy

propounded by eminent ethnologists like Malinowski, Lord Raglan and Mrs Seligman are examined, and the position taken by the author in his own monumental work is defended. The third and last essay is a rejoinder to Dr. Briffault who, in "The Mothers", attacked Westermarck's theory on certain points.

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### Religion and Philosophy.

**God at Work : A study of the Supernatural.**—  
By William Adams Brown. (Charles Scribners,  
1933). 6 s. net.

This is an highly interesting and instructive contribution to the study of the supernatural factor in religion. Dr. Brown introduces his view of the meaning of the Supernatural—the basic conception of religion—with the following words: "To believe in the supernatural means *to believe in a God at work*. It means to be convinced that, beyond the realm of relativity and finiteness of which alone physical science is cognisant, there exists the ultimate good which sets the standard for all our striving and in which we may find the satisfaction of our deepest desire. It means that God is making himself known to us in definite and recognisable ways. To believe in the supernatural... is to be aware that things happen, partly in the world without, partly in the world within, which, lifting us above our ordinary horizon and reinforcing our limited powers, make us immediately aware of the divine presence and enligh-

ten us as to the divine purpose for us and for our world." The author seeks to reinterpret the supernatural factor in religion, not from an uninviting theoretical view point, but in its bearing on the practical religious life of the individual. For "religion is a way in which, from time immemorial, men have entered into practical relationship with this encompassing mystery and have been transformed thereby."

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**Religion and Sciences of Life,—With other Essays on allied topics.** *By William McDougall.* (Methuen London, 1934). 8 s. 6 d. net.

This is a collection of fifteen essays and addresses scattered in various journals and magazines during the last forty years. In the first essay, *Religion and the Sciences of life*, Dr. McDougall attempts "to establish on a solid scientific basis this truth that, "each one of us, each individual centre of consciousness, is not completely shut up within a prison whose only windows are the sense-organs, as science has commonly asserted, ..but is rather a ripple of the mighty ocean of spirit, an individualized ripple, small and feeble, yet sharing in the nature of the whole and not wholly detached from it." This considered opinion of the author as to "the bearing of the sober and impartial survey of biological and psychological science upon religion" would sound to the Indian reader as an echo of the teachings of orthodox Hindu philosophy and religion. The other essays and addresses

which deal with topics of Anthropology, Eugenics, Nationalism and International Politics, are equally sane, sound and stimulating.

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**Confucianism and Taoism.**—*By B. S. Bonsall.*  
*Epworth Press, 1934).* 2 s. 6 d. net.

This interesting little volume forms part of the *Great Religions of the East* Series edited by Dr. Eric. S. Waterhouse, which aims at giving handy accounts of the principal Oriental religious systems, without either criticizing or defending them. In this book we have a condensed but lucid exposition of the origin and development as well as the salient features and doctrines of Confucianism and Taoism. The book will prove a useful hand-book for the student of Comparative Religion.

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### **Pre-history and History.**

**The Steppe and the Sown.**—*By Harol Peake and H. J. Fleure.* (Clarendon Press, 1928). 5 s. 6 d. net.

**The way of the sea.**—*By Peake and Fleure* (Clarendon Press 1929). 5 s. 6 d. net.

**Merchant Venturers in Bronze.**—*By Peake and Fleure* (Clarendon Press, 1931). 5 s. 6 d. net.

**The Horse and the Sword.**—*By Peake and Fleure* (Clarendon Press). 5 s. 6 d. net.

These are volumes V to VIII of *The Corridors of Time Series*, of which the first four volumes were noticed in this Journal in 1927 (pp. 376-384). The object of this highly interesting and most useful series is to give a simple popular account of the evolution of man and his civilisation from the beginning until the iron sword heralded the beginning of classical times in the Mediterranean. The fourth volume (*Priest and Kings*) carries the story of human civilisation down to the growth of villages into cities when written records came to be kept and Kings and Priests became prominent features of civilization.

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In volume V (*The Steppe and the Sown*) the story of civilization is carried forward until the first signs of a settled existence had appeared on the threshold of western Europe. Events that took place between 2000 and 2200 B. C. are recounted. In the fifth chapter of the volume the authors trace the movement of peasants, possessing knowledge of agriculture, of pottery and of domesticated animals, from the Danube basin, and perhaps from the border of the Russian steppe, until they came almost within sight of the North Sea, keeping closely to patches where the soil is that formed upon loess on their route; and in the tenth chapter it is pointed out that there must have been communications between the eastern and western Mediterranean in the days when corbelled tombs were used in Crete, when the Cyclades were passing

through their second early phase of culture, and while the second city, probably in its second phase, was flourishing at Hissarlik as a centre of great commercial importance. Chapter XI takes us to the last days of Sumer and chapter XII to the chaos in Egypt after the fall of the Sixth Dynasty in 2475 B. C., From Hissarlik civilization was carried to the European coast of the Western Mediterranean, and through the Strait of Gibraltar to the coast of Portugal.

Volume VI (*The Way of the Sea*) is concerned mainly with evidences of the great increase in the mobility of peoples and the intercourse by sea and land and a much more intense life in the Mediterranean basin, marked by numerous exchanges of culture. "It would be possible to argue that the period under consideration in this volume formed the transition from truly ancient times to the dawn of the modern epoch, in which Europe, in spite of many vicissitudes, has been growing in importance, and in which improved means of transport, the horse, the camel, the ship, have been spreading far and wide the blessings of civilization and the curse of war, while empires, founded upon military power, were growing in importance." The West awoke to cultural relations with the civilizations of the Aegean. About the year 2200 B. C., the rough pottery of the Saone valley was carried into Switzerland; then the knowledge of of pottery seems to have been taken into northern France, where it spread over a wide area from Belgium to the Bay of Biscay; and in the course of the same century this civilization had been carried across



the Channel to England. About 2200 B. C., the custom of making beaker pottery arose, our authors think, somewhere in eastern Galicia or in the Ukraine, though some writers place its origin in Spain. The beaker-folk, in our authors' opinion, were not Hissarlik people, but "merely some association, widespread on the opener lands of central and western Europe, quite possibly herdsmen and traders." These beaker-folk travelled in many directions in their endeavour to get into touch with the sea-traders. By about 2100 B. C., the beakers had passed from Portugal to Brittany and from Bohemia down the Rhine valley to Holland, in the north of which country the practice of building megaliths had already arrived from Denmark. In 2169 B. C., Sumu-abu founded the First Dynasty of Babylon, and about 2160 B. C., Intef I., founded the Eleventh Dynasty which gave way to the Twelfth about 2000 B. C. A little before 2100 B. C., the men of Hissarlik discovered the method of making bronze (which had already long been known in Mesopotamia), and bronze axe-heads and daggers were carried to Crete and thence to Sicily and Spain and gradually to other countries. At the same time the people of Silesia began to make implements of copper and, a little later, to add a little tin to harden the metal. Meanwhile, the Lake-dwellers of Switzerland had passed from the Lower to the Middle Neolithic phase, while the beaker-folk, carrying their characteristic pots, had passed from Holland to England; Hissarlik and Crete grew rich with the profits of their trade in bronze, which was now reaching most parts of Europe readily accessible from the sea.

It was probably during the twentieth century, B.C., that the first flat axes of this alloy reached England. Shortly before 1900 B. C., there seems to have been another irruption of nomads from the South Russian steppe, a party of whom might have destroyed the Second City of Hissarlik which was sacked and burned at this date. The fall of Hissarlik did not affect the trade, which now entered its second Middle Minoan Period. Meanwhile life and organization in central and western Europe seems to have developed considerably in a semi-independent fashion. There occurred special local developments of megalithic culture in the different regions affected, and the bronze-founder's art appears to have established itself in various centres. This ushered in the true Bronze Age with its numerous local cultures and its various types of axes, pots and other objects. In 1788 B. C. the Hittites descended the Euphrates and captured Babylon, bringing its First Dynasty to an end, and the whole country remained in a state of disorganization for nearly two centuries. In 1788 B. C., Queen Sebeknefrure, the last monarch of the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt, married Khutonire Ugafa, who in his right ascended the throne as first monarch of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The dynasty ruled a much divided land, with diminishing prosperity, until 1660 B. C., when a horde of Asiatics, who arrived in the Delta at the close of the Twelfth Dynasty, conquered the whole land, where they set themselves up as the Fifteenth Dynasty, known as the Hyskos or Shepherd Kings, and towards the middle of the century another line of these invaders set up the Sixteenth Dynasty.

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Volume VII (*Merchant Venturers in Bronze*) deals with a new phase of social evolution in which efforts are made to establish the arts of metallurgy at various centres, and permanent villages and agriculture spread in Central Europe, with obvious pressure from the Russian steppe which appears to empty itself. Aryan hordes enter India from the steppes of Western Asia after the middle of the second millennium B. C., as our authors think. It is the age of the glory of Crete, Myceane becoming the chief seat of Cretan power. The end of the period sees the resurgence of Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty. Western and central Europe continued to develop their own bronze culture. Soon after 1400 B. C., the Amurru plunder Syria, and shortly afterwards the Hebrews under Joshua crossed the Jordan into Palestine. The Asiatic empire of Egypt disappeared at the time of the death of Amenhotep IV in 1358 B. C. About the same time the Hittites invaded the territory of Mitanni. Crete entered its Third Late Minoan period. The walls of Hissarlik were rebuilt, and the Sixth City, Homer's Troy, was founded. Tutankhumon died in 1350 B. C. His successor Tiy having died the same year, Horemhib, the Commander-in-chief of the army, ascended the throne as the first monarch of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Among the treasures discovered in the tomb of Tutankhumon, was a dagger with a hilt of gold but a blade of iron.

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Volume VIII (*The Horse and the Sword*) continues the story for about 400 years from 1400 B. C. It

was the arrival on the scene of the horse and the sword rather than the introduction of weapons of iron that appears to have caused great developments in the social structure of Europe. At this period legendary history begins to supplement the archaeological record. Movements of people into Greece, chiefly from the north, occurred in the fourteenth century, B. C., and at this time begins the continuous tradition of the heroes. The discovery of processes to deal with iron was but one of many-sided developments. The new weapons used by horsemen seem to have opened up larger possibilities of conquest and organization, and the Hungarian basin of the Danube became a veritable melting-pot of cultures, though still without that development of cities which had for so long been a feature of the civilization in the Near East and in the Indus basin.—Meanwhile it is probable that the use of bronze was spreading into Baltic lands and the British Isles. The open state of the Alpine passes encouraged frequent intercourse with Italy, which in the thirteenth century B. C., was apparently attracting the attention of Mycenaean traders. In the Near East, the power of the Hittites, with their iron supplies, drew attacks upon them, and about 1200 B. C. their empire collapsed. The Phrygian city of Hissarlik VI, or Troy, fell before the attacks of the Achaeans. In the thirteenth century, B. C., the old organization of Egypt spent itself under Rameses II in colossal building enterprises; this marks the great influence of the old religion and its priesthood, which by the middle of the twelfth century, B. C., became the supreme power in the land. Thus Egypt

declined. The disappearance of the old sea-power left the Eastern Mediterranean in disorder, and 'peoples of the sea' attacked Egypt between 1230 and 1220 B. C., while at about the same time a Minoan civilization in Cyprus came to an end. About 1194 B. C. there was again an attack on Egypt. In Mesopotamia the rougher Assyrians acquired power over Babylon and began their great but chequered career as conquerors. The Phoenician power was establishing itself on the coast along Asia Minor. In the twelfth century B. C., the advancing movement of central European peoples continued in several directions. Boeotians and Dorians advanced towards Greece. The Lansitz people of the loess areas of south-east Germany with the aid of the sword, drove their way through Macedonia and Troy. The Urn-fields people occupied much of south Germany, and thus Central Europe acquired a considerable increase of settled agricultural population. Meanwhile the Achæo-Mycenean culture of Greece, the old power of Babylon and Egypt, and the Hittite empire were dying or dead; on the other hand, China was making great advances with the advent of the Chou dynasty. In the eleventh century B. C., the Doric and Ionic migrations changed the face of the Aegean, the Philistines with iron swords temporarily dominated Palestine, before the Kingdom of David and Solomon arose, and the Phoenicians came into greater prominence. One of the important developments of the Lansitz culture was the adaptation of the idea of the socket to bronze axes. The end of the story in the Baltic lands and in Switzerland is a sad one of decline

and fall connected with a change of climate. The pile-dwellings near Switzerland became submerged, and the growth of ice seems to have closed some of the Alpine routes, the beech replaced the oak in several west-Baltic woodlands, and on high ground peat bogs spread at the expense of the older forest. This change is the back-ground of some of the legends of the Fimbul-Winter and the Twilight of the Gods, when the spear of Odin, that had already relegated the hammer of Thor to a secondary place, gave way in its turn before the decree of fate.

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**A source-Book of Indian History**—*Compiled by K. Srinivas Kini. (Basel Mission, Mangalore, India, 1933). Re 1 as 8.*

This is a selection of "extracts illustrative of the political, commercial, social and constitutional history" of India, ancient and modern. So far as it goes, the book will be helpful to students of Indian History in our schools and colleges.

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### Miscellaneous.

**India : Land of Regrets**—*By Charles Sandford. With a Foreward by Robert Bernays, M. P. (Fenland Press, 1934). 8 s. 6 d. net.*

This readable book gives a popular account of the

impressions that the present social and political conditions of India made upon the mind of an English journalist, who happened to spend a few short years in India. Chapter VII which deals superficially with the 'Peoples of India' and Chapter VIII with "The Religions of India," are not more informative nor more accurate than certain popular handbooks. For the Indian reader little of any importance is said in this book. The author's assertion that normally the Englishman in India will never know any Indians with the exception of those very able and quite un-Indian products of Western education who are paraded for his inspection in Council Chambers and in Government offices," may be true of most Englishmen of the present day; but even a generation ago there were quite an appreciable number of British District Officers who knew the Indians in their villages and homes more intimately and extensively than any English journalist could ever do. The impressions and views of our author about men and things as expressed in the book do not appear to differ materially from the generally-accepted opinions of the present-day European officials and business men of moderate views in India.

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**The Hygiene of Marriage.**—By *Isabel Emslie Hutton, M. D.* 4th Edition.—London, [William Heinemann (*Medical Books*) Ltd ].

"A great deal of unhappiness in married people is caused by ignorance of facts with which they ought to be acquainted before marriage." This, in short, explains the purpose of this book. It is now commonly admitted that deliberately shutting out "sex" from our knowledge is taken to be a criterion of any civilized curriculum. But the result is more often harmful than not. Unnatural and unseemly curiosity about the tabooed 'sex' destroys rather than adds to its charm. Anxiety and general ill-health are the two invariable effects of sex-ignorance.

It must at the same time be admitted that any lesson on 'sex' must be very delicate, specially when meant for youngsters. Parents are either faced with this delicacy or lack in proper scientific knowledge. Dr. Hutton's book is both a frank exposition as well as a truly scientific treatise on the sealed book of "sex." This book, apparently much the same as Marry Stopes', is a marked improvement on the latter. The diagrams are explanatory and help to remove much misunderstanding. The book is divided into seven chapters: Preparation for marriage, Consummation of marriage, Married life, Menstruation or the menopause, Childlessness, Birth control and contraceptive—are the several topics under which he has dealt the different questions of sexual science. It is to be noted that the main objective of the authoress has been to be strictly scientific, and as such to dispel popular ignorance. The common fad which passes for knowledge is, indeed, more damaging than ignorance. Thanks to the authoress's mastery over the subject, she is quite lucid and elaborate despite technicalities of the subject.



For all, and specially for those who will enter into married life, a careful study of this book will be very useful and instructive.

N. R.

### **Archaeology.**

**Canons of Orissan Architecture**—By *Nirmal Kumar Bose* (*R. Chatterji, Calcutta 1932*). Rs 10/.

This is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the principles and practice of Indian architecture. The author has secured and examined seven palm-leaf manuscripts from Orissā, five of which are different recensions of a treatise named *Bhubanpradīpa*, the remaining two being copies of another work dealing with the erection of thatched huts. In the volume the author sets out in original the canons of architecture laid down in the authoritative manuscripts and explains them in English, and gives a detailed and faithful account of the four different types of Orissan temples (*Rekhā, Bhadra, Khākhara, and Gouriya*), with reference to the canons, and compares them and points out their points of similarity and difference. The book should prove a welcome addition to the library of students of Architecture in general, and of Indian Architecture in particular.

# MAN IN INDIA.

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## I. ANTHROPOLOGY AND OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.\*

By

DR. G. S. GHURYE, M.A., Ph.D. (*Cantab.*).

The subject of Anthropology is still new and strange enough to evoke different reactions in the in the minds of different people. To the layman it conjures up pictures upon pictures of skulls and other bones, sometimes of the 'weird' customs of 'savage' peoples and 'curious' implements made of stones and bones. The growth of this branch of knowledge is chiefly responsible for this state of affairs. Discussion of the place that man occupies in the animal world, the shape of his skull and the various criteria of differentiating between the skulls of the various peoples has long been prominent amongst many notable students of medicine and anatomy. And it attracted very keen notice of a number of laymen because the conclusions that such inquiries led to were

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\* *This was the Presidential address in the Section of Anthropology at the Twenty-second Indian Science Congress, held at Calcutta in January, 1935.*

opposed to some of the doctrines held by the Christian Church. Discussions of the problems mentioned above were generally styled Anthropology among the serious students. In the popular mind Anthropology has therefore been intimately associated with the skulls and bones of man. It was not until the 19th century that Archæology or 'Prehistoric Anthropology', as Dr. A. C. Haddon calls it, attracted serious attention of the scholarly world. The finds of Archæology making an appeal to the student and the layman are again skulls, bones, and implements of stones, bones and even metal. The popular impression about Anthropology was thus further fortified by the pursuits of archæologists. A little later, information about the life of 'savage' people began to be collected which was avidly read and digested by some of the most brilliant minds of the middle of the 19th century. And their books based largely on such information appealed to a very large section of the educated public owing to the charm of their style. Thus the popular conception of Anthropology was formed.

That Anthropology is concerned with the affairs of 'primitive' or preliterate peoples is an impression which is strengthened by the practice of professed anthropologists themselves. Early students of human culture were interested in tracing the stages through which human institutions, cultures, and languages have passed in arriving at their present forms. Preliterate peoples, or at least some amongst them, were con-

sidered to be more or less in the state in which the earliest human ancestors of man must have lived. They were termed 'our contemporary forefathers'. Some of these writers no doubt devoted their attention to a scrutiny of ancient civilizations. Among the second batch of writers, with few exceptions, attention came to be centred more and more on the culture of preliterate peoples. Travellers and missionary workers described the lives of 'natives' in various books calculated to arouse the interest of White peoples in their mission of civilizing the backward peoples. All the advantages of focussing public attention that novelties possess were thus with the study of preliterate peoples. It was rightly felt by people, whether they believed in the supposed pristine purity of the 'native' culture or not, that it was very important to make a complete and detailed record of that culture as soon as possible, as otherwise there was every possibility of its being lost once for all for the students of human culture. When Dr. Haddon, the father of British scientific Ethnography, organized his brilliant expedition to Torres Straits, he did it with this realization. Since then most of the professed anthropologists have won their laurels and become known through their work of acutely observing and minutely describing the cultures of many of the preliterate peoples. In the journals devoted to Anthropology most of the space is occupied by articles dealing with some aspects of one or the other of the many preliterate peoples

of the world. Papers dealing with civilized peoples are very rare indeed. And where we do find attention turned to these peoples it is either in connection with their racial affinities or their prehistory and their cultures.

Prehistory is rightly described as the description of culture which is neither studied from its possessors while they live nor from any written records left by them but which is partially reconstructed with the help of the artefacts which their fashioners left behind them and supplemented, if possible, by a study of written records. Interest of professed anthropologists in the subject of Prehistory dates from the time of the discovery of remains of human artefacts in some parts of Western Europe. The idea was more prevalent that the doings of the prehistoric man of Europe were representative of the earliest stage of human activity and perhaps could be more intelligibly interpreted in the light of our knowledge of the contemporary 'hunters' from among the 'primitive' peoples. The physical remains excited curiosity not only about the primitive ancestors of the modern European races but also held forth promises of explaining the various stages in the evolution of the human skeleton. Thus the knowledge of the prehistory of Europe was easily assimilated within the field of Anthropology both in its conception as well as its actual practice amongst the professed anthropologists. But the bounds of our knowledge of the childhood of man were being extended in many other directions and lands where scholars, who were explorers and historians, were

making chance-discoveries or planned explorations not only of human artefacts but also of written records. The writings, which were baffling for some time, began to yield to the patient work of many savants and shed light on the early stages of the cultures of Egypt and Palestine, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Persia. In Egypt and Italy even earlier work of man, which was unaccompanied by writing and was therefore within the province of strict prehistory, was discovered. Added to the prehistoric cultures of Western Europe, the work of scholars for two generations has revealed the prehistoric cultures of Central and South-Eastern Europe, of the Caucasus, and of the Caspian, of Central Asia, of China, of India and in particular of the Indus Valley and of Africa. The earlier stages of human cultures in Egypt, Mesopotamia and other lands, which early developed very high civilizations, require for their interpretation a good knowledge of the ancient scripts and languages of those lands. Their handling and interpretation has therefore been largely carried on by scholars who are styled 'Ancient Historians' and the results of their work are generally reported in journals which are devoted to the history of the specific countries. Very rarely does it happen that even the significant facts revealed by a detailed study by the specialist savants, find their way into journals which are devoted to Anthropology or Sociology.

Now it is well known to the students of the history of human culture that the early stages of the civilizations of man are to be looked for in these lands rather than in the prehistoric soils of Europe or Africa.

The way commerce, invasions and other human activities brought into close contact, one with another, the various cultures in the Caucasus, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in the *Ægean* and even in China is a fascinating and an instructive study in the development of civilizations. It establishes the reality of culture-contact and its effects in furthering the cause of higher civilization. That culture does not run uniformly but has its own cycles is another important lesson which is impressed upon the minds of students of the civilizations of these areas. It leads the thinking mind to probe into the causes of cyclical change of civilization. Study of the cultures of these areas is bound to tell the students the extent to which every succeeding and higher phase of civilization is reared on the basis of the preceding ones. Altogether it furnishes the best proof of the conscious or unconscious co-operation of the human mind in creating the civilization that Europe, before the development of modern science, became an heir to, and thus emphasizes the supreme need for patience, tolerance, and respect for some of the contemporary peoples for their present backwardness. To Indian students it will bring a mental balance which will enable them to avoid a sense of inferiority or of complacency whose manifestations are detrimental to our national interests. And yet this important and significant aspect of a study of culture does not find its proper place in the official conception of Anthropology, which deals almost exclusively, in the practice of anthropologists, with the culture of preliterate peoples. Even in the syllabuses of the degree-course in Anthropology of

many of the British Universities such a study is not prescribed. The syllabus of the London University in this subject is perhaps the most comprehensive and conceived in a very liberal spirit. But even in that syllabus the study of culture that is expected of the candidates for the Honours-degree in Anthropology does not extend to the study of most of the great ancient civilizations.

What I have said about the study of culture so far refers to those aspects of culture which are not comprised in social institutions and religious beliefs and ideas. In the matter of religious beliefs and ideas, thanks to the works of Sir J. G. Frazer, the students of Anthropology are always brought face to face with ideas not only of the preliterate peoples but also of peoples of all ancient civilizations, whosoever have to contribute to this common heritage of humanity. And the work of Sir G. Elliot Smith takes us one step further by asking us to view the ideas and practices of preliterate peoples in this domain of life as having been in some way derived from the ideas and practices of peoples who created the first civilization. Regarding social institutions, the subject is not equally liberally handled. Though the early anthropological sociologist like Maine, Morgan and others had their eye on their comparative study with a view to elucidate their more recent and modern forms, the practice of later anthropologists has been mainly to confine their attention to their forms and functions among preliterate peoples, leaving a wider and comparative study to the care of sociologists like Westermarck and Hobhouse. This practice



of anthropologists is, in some measure, due to the fact that certain types of social institutions, are superficially at least peculiar to the preliterate peoples. I purposely say 'superficially' because I believe that a more detailed study of even these institutions reveals that they have their analogies or substitutes in the institutions of peoples more highly civilized than the 'primitive' peoples. One effect of this dissociation is that a comparative study of social institutions including their modern forms is exceedingly rare among anthropologists, and it is only in Universities, like that of London, where Sociology has been flourishing by the side of Anthropology that the Degree-course in Anthropology prescribes a study of comparative social institutions.

The study of the physical side of man was in its early stages carried on with a view to shed light on his physical evolution, to determine his place in nature and to ascertain the earlier races of Europe and their affinities with the present races. Out of this study arose the classification of human races, and anthropologists have carried on the work of distinguishing and comparing the various extant races and sub-races of mankind. 'Physical Anthropology' is generally accepted to comprise this study. To the students of the racial problems of mankind as to the students of culture, the problem of mixture of races and of miscegenation presents itself before long. Similarly curiosity about the relation between head-form and race on the one hand and the capacity of the brain and intellectual and temperamental ability on the other is evoked.

Proportions between the various parts of the body and their relation to the phenomenon of growth is another enquiry that has presented itself to thinking minds. Students of Biology, Psychology, Sociology, and Anthropology have been variously engaged in investigating and writing on these problems. The subjects of racial psychology and miscegenation having political significance have been handled by all sorts of people, some of whom have succeeded in creating prejudice in the lay minds. Political writers and sociologists have contributed more to the study of these subjects than anthropologists. And 'Physical Anthropology' is still officially conceived as mainly dealing with the physical evolution of the races of mankind. Thus you will have seen that the layman's view about Anthropology is, partially at least, the consequence of the attitude and actual practice of professed anthropologists.

I have troubled you with this short history and development of our subject because I think that in the educational history of our country the present era is potent with powers for great good or evil, and it is exceedingly important to formulate a true conception of the real scope of our subject. Recently there has been a tendency in some of our Universities to introduce in their curricula the subjects of Anthropology and Sociology. At this juncture it is desirable to define our province in a catholic spirit so that there may be neither dissociation nor overlapping. Unfortunately there is already prevalent the view which confines Anthropology

to preliterate peoples, Sociology to modern nations, and Ancient History to ancient civilized peoples. It is my earnest desire to protest against this view that has led me to address you on this subject. I firmly believe that courses in Anthropology must include one on the comparative study of culture and another on comparative social institutions of preliterate, ancient-civilized and modern nations. Similarly, courses in Sociology must include them both, and in addition a course on Race. The distinction between Anthropology and Sociology must lie only in their emphasis. While in Anthropology racial evolution and distribution and the culture and the social institutions of preliterate peoples are studied in vastly greater detail, in Sociology this stress must be laid on modern nations. Any other distinction is, I submit, spurious and detrimental to the best interests of both the subjects and of society.

The other point which I wish to dwell upon in this address is the place that the subject of Anthropology, with its scope defined as above, should occupy in the educational system of our country. The reasons why certain subjects are included in the modern educational systems lie largely rooted in the past. They have come to possess a traditional importance which is questioned only occasionally. Whenever the votaries of a fresh subject have to get recognition for their subject, which they think is highly cultural and educative in its study, they have to establish its special utility. Generally it should have been an acknow-

ledged principle that any branch of study which provides an intellectual training should have a place as an optional subject in the educational system. But because the educational system, like other aspects of our social life, has a past, such incorporation of a new subject is not an easy matter. I shall endeavour to put before you some considerations which should convince our educational authorities of the great importance and utility of our subject from the social point of view. In doing this I take it for granted that, though the study of the subject is in its childhood in our country, its suitability for intellectual training is not questioned.

Two of the early great anthropologists of England, who expressed their opinions on the utility of this subject, conceived of its two different uses, one restricted and imperial and the other wide and humanistic. It was urged by Dr. Flower that a sound knowledge of the customs, beliefs, and manners of the backward peoples whom British colonial officers had to govern would be very useful in administering the areas under their charge peacefully and to the good of the 'natives'. Tylor, on the other hand, stressed the importance of the study of Anthropology in enabling us to guide the world in such a way as to leave it better. The need of anthropological training in the business of administration was clearly felt by some of the great Colonial administrators, who consistently put this point of view before the proper authorities and the academic world. As a result of the combined efforts of these great administrators and of the leading associations devoted to the study of Anthropology in Great Bri-

tain, Antnropology has not only secured an honourable place in the Universities but has been practically recognized by Government. Trained anthropologists have been attached to many administrative machineries with distinct gain both to administration as well as to the 'natives' concerned. The probationers for Colonial and Indian Civil Services are required to go through a certain course of study in Anthropology, and both Physical and Cultural Anthropology may be offered at the examination for entrance into these Services, though it is not as yet put on a footing of equality with other major subjects. Mr. J. H. Driberg thinks that the training provided for in the year of probation is not at all sufficient and urges that it ought to be spread over full four years.

In the present condition of our country, Anthropology ought to prove useful in both these ways. There are a number of peoples, jungle tribes and others, whose assimilation in our civilization is one of the important problems awaiting solution. In order to be able to solve the problem their past and present condition must be carefully studied, and their cultural affinities fully investigated. No doubt an amount of good material is already available. But the problem has not been authoritatively enquired into in the light of the material. It is time that an expert committee were appointed either by our Congress or by the Government to discuss this problem and to lay down a plan and a programme to be worked out with a view to ameliorate the condition of these peoples who have remained outside the main path of cultural development in our country. It is clear that the District

and other officials who have to come into close contact with these peoples in their administrative capacities ought to have a good training in Anthropology in general and the ethnography of the specific area in particular.

The need for a study of Anthropology because of its other use is even greater in our country. I believe, as all educationists must, that knowledge sooner or later influences our attitudes and practices, to a greater or less extent. I have already dwelt on the liberalizing influence of a comparative study of culture.

At the present juncture, when we are passing through a trying phase of contact with Western culture, a deep study of the cultural process, the need for contact and interaction, and the cyclical nature of civilization ought to orient us properly towards the situation. It is accepted by a large number of our educated countrymen that there is much maladjustment in our social institutions, and anachronism in some of our religious beliefs and practices. It is also felt by many that one of the chief causes of the lack of unity between the Muslim and the Hindu sections of our nation is mutual ignorance of their respective cultures. A general study of culture thus becomes a national necessity with every educated Indian. It therefore ought to find a place in our University curricula. It is well known to you that many of our social reformers when they suggested certain reforms in our social customs and religious beliefs appealed to—and there are many who still appeal to—the old scriptures and tried to gain support for their ideas by interpreting the scriptures in such a way as to uphold

the ideas they wished to promulgate. In so far as such an attitude assumed that many of the desirable reforms were only our ancient customs and beliefs enshrined in the scriptures but latterly misinterpreted it engendered—and even now it does so—a firm belief in the minds of laymen that our scriptures are all-comprehensive and we need not go outside them for reform. It strengthens the common belief that our scriptures are infallible. If the reformers interpreted the scriptures in a manner to uphold their views scores of Pundits could vouchsafe for the accepted and routine interpretation which fully endorsed the current practices and beliefs. Laymen already very favourably biased in behalf of their customs, were and are swayed by the interpretations of their beloved Pundits. The result is that in spite of the splendid endeavours of the many high-souled and earnest reformers the desirable reforms have been very slow to come into practice. I firmly believe that the right method of approach towards the problem of social and religious reform is not by way of an appeal to a fresh interpretation of scriptures but by way of presenting to all educated people—and through them at second-hand to even the uneducated ones—a comprehensive picture of social institutions, customs, and religious beliefs of peoples of different climes and times and of various stages of cultural development. It is only when our educated brethren are armed with a comparative study of this kind that some of them at least will develop a proper attitude towards our existing customs and beliefs. All those, therefore, who will have the chance of leading public opinion in howsoever a

small area and in whatever capacity—whether as a *taluq*-officer or as a political leader or as a social worker—should have made a comparative study of social institutions and religious beliefs. I submit that the end can only be achieved if this aspect of Anthropology is made compulsory in many of our courses of study for various examinations.

The considerations set forth above have led me to the opinion that the examination for the recruitment to Civil Services ought to have certain subjects compulsory and of these at least the two aspects of Anthropology—viz. a general study of culture and a comparative study of social institutions and religious beliefs—must be one. Similarly to achieve the objective they ought to be introduced, along with some other social sciences, as compulsory subjects in Degree-courses which pertain to non-specialized examinations.



## II. FRATERNAL POLYANDRY IN MALABAR.

By

A. AIYAPPAN, M.A.

The Malabar coast seems to be the only place in the civilised world where fraternal polyandry is still actively practised. The practice is however rapidly disappearing and perhaps no vestige of it may remain a generation hence. As the communities that have the polyandrous marriage are becoming conscious of the peculiarity of the practice and as occasionally their neighbours ridicule them on that account, the process of decline of fraternal polyandry is accelerated. Now there is a lot of confusion as to whether Nayar polyandry was a recognised institution or whether it was merely a sporadic irregularity that was regularised by Brāhman landlords at certain localities where their power and influence were great. Unless care is taken to record all available facts relating to fraternal polyandry before it disappears completely, a legacy of confusion will be left about it too.

Sheikh Zeenuddin Mukhdom, an Arab traveller (1579-1580) in Malabar, after referring to the polyandry of the Nayars, gives us the following facts concerning the polyandry of the lower castes :—"The lower castes such as the carpenters, iron-smiths and others have fallen into the imitation of their superiors, the Nayars, with this difference, however, that the joint concern in a female is among these last limited to the brothers

and male relatives by blood, to the end no alienation may take place in the course of the succession and the right of inheritance". In his notes to this passage Duncan (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V, p-14) adds "Five low castes Teer, Agaree (carpenter), Muzalie (Brass-founder), Tattan (Goldsmith), Kollan (Blacksmith) who live promiscuously with one or more women; and sometimes two three or four or more brothers cohabit with one woman. The child or children who are the offspring of this connection inherit the property of this whole fraternity; and whenever the female of the house is engaged with either of the brethren, his knife is said to be hung up at the door of the apartment as a signal of its being occupied. It is however justice to add that this custom is said to be local and practised in a few of the southern districts; and even among the five castes there is no prohibition against any man's keeping for himself either one or as many women as he can maintain."

Barbosa, a European traveller from whom we get the best account of Nayar polyandry, has the following remarks to make on the fraternal polyandry of the Ilavans:—"Sometimes among them two brothers have one wife and sleep with her and hold it nothing wonderful".

That there is no exaggeration at all in the accounts of both the Sheikh and Barbosa will be clear to all who have studied the castes referred to by them.

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<sup>6</sup> As the widow's children are not regarded as the posthumous children of her deceased husband (cf. the Toda custom) there is no classic "Niyoga" of the Hindus involved here.

Legendary references to fraternal polyandry are very few. There is of course the well-known story of Droupadi, the daughter of the King of Panchala, marrying the five Pāṇḍava brothers. It was the third brother Arjuna who actually won the bride in the shooting contest, but the eldest brother insisted on his right of sharing the wife, their mother agreed with him and it was settled that each of the five brothers was to have connubial rights for a period of one year in the order of seniority and, if any one interfered with the rights of another he was to go out and do penance and perform pilgrimages for a year. Opinion is divided as to whether the Pāṇḍava marriage reflects any real polyandrous state or trend of the society in the Epic days of India. The Brāhmaṇas are however positively against fraternal or any other form of polyandry; it is said 'One man can have many wives, but a woman cannot have co-husbands'. (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*). Only one instance is known of a polyandrous marriage in the Buddhist Jātakas (Birth stories)...Princess Kanha was allowed to have at a time five husbands selected by her in a *svayamvara* assembly.

Tradition in Malabar is poor in references to polyandry.

Relationship terms of all or almost all South Indian castes reveal a state of affairs which we expect and which exist in a society wherein the fathers' brothers have the same status as the father himself. Among many of the lower castes,

polyandrous or non-polyandrous, the father is called *achau*, and the father's younger *pāppan* (*Pali* for father). All the wives of the father's brothers, and all the sisters of the mother are 'mothers' grouped according to age as 'big mother' or 'little mother' and all their children are regarded as brothers and sisters. Except among the matrilineal sections, levirate of some form is to be found among all the primitive people inhabiting the *Ghāts*. Among the Nayadis, who are not polyandrous, instances are not wanting of one brother making over his wife to another and also of an elder or younger brother marrying the deceased brother's widow.<sup>6</sup> Going in search of traditions of levirate the oldest instance we have of it in Malabar is in a very popular folk-song of a Tiyya hero *Aromal-chekon* that is sung by villagers all through the Malayalam-speaking countries. The hero is mortally wounded and is brought home. Before he breathed his last, he asked his younger brother not to forsake his widow; later in the story we read of the son of the widow by the brother avenging the death of the Chekon (Knight). Now the Tiyyas are matrilineal, and polyandry is unknown among them, but their fellows in the more southerly part of the Malabar district and the Cochin state, who are styled, as suits the fancy of the person, Ilavans, or Tandans or occasionally, Tiyyas (Tiyyans) but ought to be, strictly speaking, called Ilavans, still practise fraternal polyandry. Internal evidence collected will show that the

matriliney of the Tiyyans is not the genuine one of the Nayers, but an imitation of the latter, in certain aspects of it.

Between the type of polyandry that prevails among the Kandians of Ceylon and that in Malabar there is a very close similarity. There, it is said, it was obligatory for every farmer to go and work for some time for the feudal lord, and that necessitated periodic absence from home and consequently leaving the wife in the charge of a brother. From known facts of the history of the Ilavans (and Tiyyas) it is fairly certain that they came to Malabar from Ceylon and were the first planters in the country specialising in coconut cultivation. When they came they would have brought with them also this institution of polyandry. The Ilavans are the lords of the artisan classes who are the most ardent adherents of polyandry nowadays. The artisans of Malabar are said to have once upon a time struck work and left in a body for Ceylon and were brought back with the assistance of the Ilavans who were commissioned by the king of Ceylon to look after them. Whatever the historical value of this legend, it shows that that the two groups of people that practise fraternal polyandry, viz., the artisans and the Ilavans are closely associated and perhaps they might have come into Malabar from the same locality. No artisan marriage can take place without the permission of the Ilavan chief or his agent accompanying the marriage procession.

Both the Ilavans and the artisans are strictly patrilineal. Their social organisation is broadly as follows: There are, firstly, some subcastes which are divided into *illams* and *kiriyams*. There is no intermarriage between the subcastes. A man inherits his mother's *illam* and *kiriyam*. Two persons having the same *kiriyam* are said to be *kiriyam* sister or *kiriyam* brother, i.e. *kiriyam* is exogamous. A few patrilineal families usually constitute a *taravad*; the members of a *taravad* are all descended from one ancestor. A man or woman inherits his or her father's *taravad*. (The word *taravad* is usually rendered in English as 'house-name' and is a common feature of the social organisation of Malayalam- and Telugu-speaking peoples.) So we find that the *taravad* exogamy is there to prevent the marriage of close relatives on the father's side and the *illam* exogamy to prevent similar marriages on the mother's side. Members of a *taravad*, when it has grown in numbers, are still held together by the fact that they have a common family god whom they all join together to worship, and also a common *sarpa-kavu* (a clump of trees where serpent images are kept for worship). When the *taravad* is too unwieldy for such meetings, there takes the "division of the serpent" and the accessories used for the performance of funeral rites. People though they belong to the same house or clan will not henceforward observe death-pollution for those who have separated by division, as for all social purposes two new clans are brought into existence.

Marriage among the Ilavans and the Artisans is patrilocal. Though they have the joint family system, their families do not grow to the extent they do in the case of the Nayars. Normally in an Ilavan family there will be found one or two elderly men, their common wife, married sons and their wife or wives, unmarried sons and daughters. Married daughters will be away with their husbands of whose house-holds they become full members. A father having a marriageable son seeks a bride who would be suitable for him, and the first person he consults is his wife's brother. The parents of the girl will be glad if the bridegroom has several brothers too, for in the event of the death of the eldest brother, she will be looked after by the younger brothers, other economic motives also come usually into play; e.g., of the two brothers one may be working away from home and can come home only very occasionally; so though the two brothers marry a common wife only one of them is with her actually, the other being only a visiting husband, on whom also devolves the fatherhood of all the children born.

Whether at a marriage all the brothers are made copartners ceremonially, or whether there is only an understanding that though only one is married, the others should have access to the wife, there is no clear indication. The common practice is for the eldest brother alone to go to the bride's house to fetch her on the day of the marriage; then at the ceremonies by which the

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<sup>7</sup> Except marriage.

'tie is created' by 'drinking milk' all the brothers are seated in a row on the right of the bride, and all of them are given the sweet drink that makes them co-husbands of the woman. In an area where fraternal polyandry has disappeared, I once saw at an Ilavan's marriage a small boy was placed by the side of a grown up elder brother of his who was the bridegroom at the milk-giving ceremony; the people had no intention whatever of making the little boy a partner in the marriage. A forgotten usage had a momentary, though unnecessary, resurrection in the minds of the elderly members of the marriage party.

Another episode from a polyandrous family of blacksmiths throws some side-light on the regulations of fraternal polyandry. The common wife of five brothers became too weak to look after the comforts of all of them. The youngest of the brothers who was not much older than his own eldest son expressed a wish to have a new wife for himself. The wife advised him that the proper procedure was for the eldest brother to marry again a younger woman and for them all to share her.

The simple form of polyandry where several brothers have one wife in common is giving place to several new forms. The brothers may divide themselves into two or three batches for purposes of marriage; or they go on for some time with one wife, then some of them leave the joint concern and have separate wives for



themselves; others remain in the partnership and also have additional wives. I was told of an interesting instance of a marriage of a member of a polyandrous group at which, in order to deprive him and his bride of any monopoly of each other, five of his brothers and three common wives of all of them sat in a row at the milk-giving ceremony, on either side of the marrying pair.

The complicacies which are pointed in the foregoing paragraphs are rather rare, and are the results of jealousies which, in most normal cases, are absent; and it is a wonder how they maintain such harmony. In fact, I was told by a very intelligent member of a polyandrous group that the disintegration of joint families is prevented by the brothers having a common wife, as, through her influence, all fissiparous tendencies are avoided. There is a saying in Malayalam 'Four men will join and get along well together, but not four women'.

There seems to be very few rigid rules for the internal regulation of the married life in an Ilavan house-hold. The knife which is placed on the door-frame to prohibit other husbands from entering, is no more heard of. Some simple turns are arranged by the mother when the bride is still young. In the beginning, during the honeymoon, the brothers go to the bride's house one after the other and are fêted alike, for periods ranging from a week to a fortnight. As very often nowadays the number of brothers in a

polyandrous marriage is two only, there is very little necessity for any elaborate regulation in their sexual life. Sometimes, among the artisans, even parallel brothers become co-husbands. Similarly own sisters and even parallel sisters become co-wives of brothers. The latter arrangement helps the maintenance of domestic peace, owing to the wives being already close relatives.

If one asks the child of a polyandrous family for his father he would reply, "I have three fathers. *Whom* do you want?" Descriptions like 'big father', 'small father', 'short father', fair father, 'dark father', are not at all uncommon. I have found in some families fathers showing a particular partiality for children who resemble them closely. Coming to the question of inheritance, Thurston was obviously wrong in recording that property went down through the eldest wife. All the children born to the brothers have equal right, so that the superiority of the eldest brother or the oldest of the wives does not come in for consideration at all.

When asked to explain to me the advantages of the polyandrous marriage a well-to-do Ilavan told me,—“It keeps all the brothers together; union and co-operation gives them strength, and therefore, their community ranks as the best agriculturists in their country. You can be sure that your children are your own. A woman will have one or other of their husbands always by her side, so that her tendency to sin is obliterated.

ed." My informant agreed with me in thinking that polyandry meant a great strain on the women.

Polyandry now survives particularly in the marginal areas among the less advanced members of the castes in whose midst it is now found. That it was once more wide-spread also is clear. Fraternal polyandry which is rarely practised, and that only by some minor and numerically small sects among the Nayars of Travancore and the Paliyans of the Travancore Hill, is due to the difficulty of getting wives. Some very poor members of the Nayar community of Travancore practise fraternal polyandry, because of the difficulty in maintaining a family. The Ilavans now have the normal sex ratio and as they are mainly an agricultural people, it would be advantageous for them to have more women married into a joint family. So neither the idea of economy nor paucity of women explains Ilavan polyandry. The Ilavans are never known to have practised female infanticide. Unlike the Kandiyans of Ceylon they had no feudal lord to serve for long terms.

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### III. PSYCHOANALYTIC INTERPRETATION OF PRIMITIVE LIFE.

By

PARESH CHANDRA DAS-GUPTA.

Inspite of much adverse criticism the first claim of psychoanalysis to deal with anthropological problems, especially the beliefs and customs that control primitive life has now been admitted. It has been shown by Freud and Roheim, by Malinowski and Seligman how psychoanalytic principles can give a rationalistic explanation to the apparently queer beliefs and pre-logical thoughts of a primitive man. In this short article I propose to deal with a few apparently gruesome customs and institutions prevailing in a society of 'pre-literate' humanity and shall endeavour to show that by the application of psychonalytic principles they will not only be intelligible but will seem to be the most natural outcome of the psychic reactions under their primitive conditions of life.

A cursory glance over the ethnological narratives will reveal to any one, even to a layman, certain striking peculiarities in primitive mentality in general. They are too manifest in the customs and practices of the aborigines. Let us take into consideration the family, the most consolidated unit in one society. As in our society, so it is among the primitives. Family, the basic social unit, consists of the parents and the children. But at a certain stage the disintegrating force begins to play upon the family tending towards disso-

ciation of its members so linked up together by the silken threads of sentiment. When the boy attains the age of 8 to 10, he dissociates himself partly from his parental family and becomes a member of another social unit which controls the whole future of his life and consequently involves a great change in his psychic reactions. Among the Naga tribes of Assam such as the Chirus and Kabuis it is the common practice to build a "Zwalbuk" or bachelor's house in every village. All the unmarried young men of the village, aged 10 years and upwards, go to this house at night and are expected to sleep there. The Kukis, on the other hand, (the Koms and the Vaipheis) do not build any "Zwalbuk", but still a distintegrating force is no less operative here. The bachelors of each house must at dusk go out of their parental abode and seek shelter somewhere else. Generally as it happens among the Kom, the Vaiphei and the Purum, the bachelors of one house seek shelter for the night in a neighbouring house specially where there are grown-up girls. Now if we turn to Oceania we find that the same social factor operates with intensity. In Melanesia the young bachelor does not only retire to the bachelors' house to sleep at night but stays there the greater part of the day. He may, however, return to his parental house to take his meals but must never enter the house if the sister or the mother be in. The social taboo prohibits him even from speaking to his sister or taking food from his

mother. All these facts show a common trend in the primitive mentality and seems in all its aspects to be the manifest reaction of some psychic complex deeply ingrained in human nature.

The custom of avoidance is by no means restricted to brother and sister alone. It includes many other relatives, both male and female, within its jurisdiction. I have observed even amongst overselves a good many examples of such avoidance between the sexes. Among the Sāhā (Sūnri and the Teli castes) it is out of etiquette for the mother-in-law to come out in presence of the son-in-law. She should never stay in the same room with, nor should she speak directly to, the son-in-law. I have noticed in the said castes that the mother-in-law hastens out of the house, as if in a fright, if the son-in-law happens to come in. Still like the Tylorian school who equate the lower classes of our own society with the primitive people, it would be wrong to suppose that such avoidances are to be found only among the pre-literate human groups. Even among the higher classes there are some distinct cases of avoidances. In Bengal, for example, among all the Hindu castes it is, or until recently was, the common custom for a woman not to appear in presence of her husband's elder brother and to speak to him was, and in many cases is still, considered as a really social offence. Many accidents reveal the oddity of such avoidance-customs among the Hindus. Cases have been heard in which the drowning sister-in-law (younger bro-

ther's wife) could not be rescued by a person because it would be a breach of social custom and hence a great offence to touch the body of the younger brother's wife. Thus we find that in every society, primitive or advanced, there are some tendencies towards such "avoidance". In primitive society we find these tendencies distinctly manifest, uninfluenced by counter forces that have been operating in civilised society. The vital question now is, "why such an avoidance tendency? what is its ætology"? until and unless we have answered the why of things, all our studies of ethnology would be of little benefit. The student of Pure Sociology will feel himself incompetent and unequipped before such problems. But the psychoanalyst may see clearly into the root of it. On analysis it will be found that the same psychic complex operates in the custom of the bachelors of the house to retire to the "Zwalbuk" or to seek shelter in the neighbour's house and in the brother-sister avoidance among the Melanesians. The mother-in-law and son-in-law avoidance, on the one hand, and the sister-in-law and the brother-in-law (husband's elder brother) avoidance on the other, are not different from the above, so far as their psychic complexes are concerned. The apparent cause of the "Zwalbuk" system, as is admitted by the primitive people themselves, is but a result of the sister avoidance which we find most intensively manifest in Melanesian society where the brother and sister are taboo to each other and

must not have dealings with each other after the girl has put on her straw petticoat and the brother has been initiated. By the analysis of an actual case it can easily be shown that such avoidances are primarily based on a neurotic fear felt in the presence of each other; to the brother the sister is an object of horror, so is the brother to the sister, and out of that obsessional fear originates the tendency to avoid each other. Though in civilised society this obsessional fear has been greatly overcome and the brother and sister no longer avoid each other, but still the same tendency is revealed through their occasional quarrellings; but here crops up the vital question—why again this fear?

For a moment I shall divert here from the main issue to say something a few words primitive society in general. Freud has equated primitive mentality to that of the child in our society and opined that the aboriginal people represent the childhood of humanity. However, the great author, in his epoch-making book "Totem and Taboo," has explained the emotional character of primitive people in general. He has shown that the instinctive tendencies which later are destined to become unconscious by repression are still felt to be dangerous by the savage who consider them worthy of the most severe defensive measures. As a matter of fact many desires and tendencies have been thrust into the unconscious by the gradual elaboration of the repression-mechanism through the needs of the higher civilisation. But



the repression-mechanism in the primitive man is only imperfectly developed, and, as a result, inhibition in the aboriginal society is only skin-deep. Hence the primitive man is still conscious of the conflict and feels within himself the urge of the instincts that are quite incompatible with the reality of his position. Here we find that the true difference between a civilised man and a savage is not a qualitative factor but rather a quantitative one. As Freud says, the childhood of the individual is in many ways comparable to the childhood of races. As an infant lacks the power of sublimation of the adult, so does the savage when compared with the civilised man. It is only a question of degree. While in one the super-ego is well-developed and consequently the mechanism of repression is perfect, in the other the super-ego is only rudimentary and as a result of that the inhibitory process is efficient. Thus a savage is comparable to the child in our society in whom the repression of the non-adjustible emotional factors is incomplete and in whom the instinctual tendencies acquire emotional tone due to libidinal fixation.

Now by an analysis of primitive mentality which is analogous to the neurotic conditions in our society we find two important causal factors :—(1) an incomplete repression, (2) a libidinal fixation to the non-adjustible instinctual tendencies. Due to fixation, resulting in high emotional tension, the man cannot totally deny the claim of the instinctual or *id*-tendencies nor can he realise

them because of the repressive force ever operating in him. But the psychic tension thus originated cannot be prolonged for ever and things have to be settled finally. The repressive factor ultimately gets the upperhand and the inhibited instinct is dissociated from its libidinal charge; but this inhibited libido, as Freud has shown from actual analysis of Psycho-neurotic patients, is transformed into morbid fear or obsession. Freud has further discovered that the factors of neurotic fixation in such cases are generally infantile erotic tendencies and, in short, psycho-neurotic patients suffer a regression into infantilism. Thus, like Freud, equating the primitive man with his mystic, and superstitious beliefs to psycho-neurotic patients, we may say that the savage man always suffers from a tendency to regress into infantilism. If we consider, in short, the typical complex of a male child we find that the baby has passed the auto-erotic stage and begins to form object cathexis, the first libidinal fixation is upon the mother, who is the child's first object of love and the sucking of whose breast gratifies infantile sexuality. But as the child develops, his anal-eroticism is modified and the libidinal tendency is transferred from the mother to the sister, who in our society is often the child's playmate and his bed-partner. In the normal adult, however, this infantile fixation is abundant and the love cathexis is transferred, being incompatible with the ego which has cons-

tantly to make adjustments to reality. But in neurotic cases, the infantile fixations are continued even in adult life and, as a matter of fact, the patient cannot get rid of his constellations.

Now let us turn to our own problem. The savage suffers from a neurotic continuation of his infantile constellations. This is the root cause of the morbid fear of a Melanesian brother felt for his sister and *vice-versa*. Though this morbid fear is much modified, still the avoidance custom of the Nagas and the Kukis is undoubtedly a manifest reaction of the same tendencies. The sister being a substitute for the mother, the first object cathexis of infantile erotic tendencies is greatly desired by the savage. But such desires being incompatible with the reality of his position have got to be repressed and the libidinal energy attached to such desires is transformed into an incest-dread which manifests itself in an avoidance tendency. This clearly explains why Naga bachelors stay in the "Zwalbuk" and Kuki youngmen seek shelter in a neighbour's house.

The mother-in-law and son-in-law avoidance has also a similar origin. The mother-in-law represents the mother who is *oedipus'* love-object, so by infantile fixation, as in the previous case, the son-in-law bears an unconscious incestuous desire for her. But such instinctual tendencies have got to be abandoned owing to their incompatibility with the super-ego, and the libido concerned is transformed into fear.

There are many such customs and practices among primitive people which are intelligible only by application of psycho-analytic principles to them. Here I cannot resist the temptation of referring to a very peculiar custom which prevailed even among the Palæolithic—the Cromagnon and the Grimaldi—people. Today the same custom is found among some of the Australian aborigines.

Sollas in his "Ancient Hunters" has given fuller information of this custom. As he says, there are in Australia many old women who have all their fingers cut at the first joint, each of these cut fingers indicating the loss of some near and dear relative. The practice is that when the husband dies the widow cuts off her thumb, and so she cuts off her other fingers at the death of her near relatives. The sons of a man mutilate their fingers at the death of their father. The same author records that on the death of a tribal chief a thousand fingers were ordered to be cut. This practice of mutilation probably existed among the Palæolithic people as we have evidence in the silhouettes of mutilated hands on the walls of the grotto of Gargas in the Pyrenees. Anthropologists have explained it as a mark of grief. It is so evidently. But to say that the practice of mutilation is an expression of grief is not to explain its origin. The main question is why grief should express itself as a process of self-punishment. Now, if we apply the psycho-analytic method the meaning will be clear. The inhibited œdipus complex con-

tains as its component a murderous wish directed against the father; when the father dies this unconscious murderous wish is gratified. But the super-ego detects it and strongly condemns the unsocial instinct as a result of which the son feels himself guilty at the death of his father and the widow considers herself responsible for the death of her husband. The ego in order to purge itself of its guilt undertakes penance or inflicts punishment on the corporeal self. And the custom of mutilation is only a process of self-punishment originating in this guilty conscience. Though mutilation is no longer customary among the civilised people, the process of self-punishment is present everywhere. Even in Hindu society the son at the death of his father and the widow at the death of her husband undertake a long penance and have to abandon material comforts for the time being or for the rest of life (as in the case of the Hindu widow); it may be supposed that originally this self-punishment entailed talion punishment (i.e. life for life) and resulted in suicide of the guilty person. At least we have one clear evidence of this in the *Sati* rites of India. The Hindu widows of India even a century ago offered to burn themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. This they regarded as a part of their religion; and as every religious rite is an elaborate process of penance or self-purification, the *Sati* rites form a part of the popular religion of the Hindu. The practice was so very prevalent that it had to be prohibited by legislative

enactment. In the *Sati* custom, however, we find the original form of talion punishment of which the Australian practice of mutilation is only a modification. The Hindu widow feels herself guilty at the death of her husband because according to Freud's theory of ambivalent emotion in the wife who is intensively in love with her husband there is in her unconsciousness a murderous tendency directed towards the husband. And at the death of the husband this *id*-tendency being gratified, the censorship of the super-ego falls heavy upon the ego itself. As a result of this the woman feels herself guilty and holds herself responsible for the death of her husband. As a natural consequence of this guilty-conscience, the woman tries to purge herself of her supposed sin and the reaction commonly takes the shape of self-punishment. In the *Sati* system where they actually burnt themselves, in the Andamanese practice of a widow fastening to her neck the skull of her dead husband and undergoing prolonged sufferings and in the practices of the Hindu widow who undertakes various sorts of restrictions and food taboos,—we find the same attempt to purge one's self of the guilty conscience by a more or less elaborate process of penance. In Africa, we find a striking example which also illustrates the reaction of the same complex. Seligman writes in his book "*Races of Africa*" that in Dahomey the death of the king was the signal for the women of the palace to destroy their furniture and utensils and then to kill themselves, so that

they might at once join their lord with his belongings. At the death of Andezo II, in 1789, 595 of these women are said to have perished. in addition to a suitable following of soldiers, Amazons, eunuchs, bards, etc. Here is also an attempt for the associates of the king to purge themselves of the sense of guilt aroused at the death of the king. The women of the palace stand verily in the position of the widows and the male persons of the palace in that of the sons.

In this connection, however, I shall speak of one particular savage ceremony, viz—Head-hunting. Head-hunting is widely practised in the uncivilised world. Among some tribes that do not actually practice it at present there is evidence that it prevailed in ancient times. The savage wherever he gets the opportunity, falls upon a stranger, cuts off his head and takes it home where it is preserved carefully as a token of his valour. Sometimes savages in a band go out on head-hunting expeditions. Such expeditions are, or until recently were, often undertaken by some of the tribes of Assam. When the young heroes returned to the village with their-trophies, the women of the village would receive them dancing and singing in their praise; the whole village would then observe a holiday and rejoice themselves in feasting and merry-making; and as a constant accompaniment of primitive ceremonies much sexual laxity was indulged in on such an occasion. As W. C. Smith writes in his book *The Ao Naga tribe of Assam*, among the Ao

Nagas it is the women who often instigate the young heroes to go out head-hunting. The man in a village who has taken the largest number of heads is held in the highest esteem and he is often chosen as a military leader. But the man who has no head to his credit is often an object of ridicule to the young women of the village, and it is extremely difficult for him to secure a desirable maiden for his wife. Sometimes he is not allowed even to be initiated until he has hunted a head. However, the hunted head is taken home, while the wife of the hero (if he be married) pours rice and beer into its mouth. The head is then kept in a proper place in the house. Food and drink are regularly offered to it and on the occasion of illness in the family or any other danger animals are sacrificed to it. It is henceforth regarded as a guardian-spirit of the house. The entire head-hunting ceremony would appear to be only another manifestation of the same psychic complex that gave rise to the cyclopean murder, specially when we consider that the hunting of a head is a condition of marrying well and also that the young heroes, on their return with the trophies, are adored by the young women of the village who come dancing and singing all around. The ceremony seems to resemble that held in connection with the cyclopean murder—the first of all ceremonies. Here food and drink are poured into the mouth of the decapitated head which is but an attempt by the rebellious son to resuscitate the murdered father. The rule



among the Ao is that a man who has not hunted a head shall not have a maid; and this was the very condition imposed upon Oedipus, viz., that "until you kill the father you cannot have his woman". Thus in the primal horde the sons could not have a maid without killing the jealous father. Hence the hunting of the head which is a condition of a marriage is a symbolical killing of the father.

From what I have said above it is clear that Psychoanalysis dives deep into the human mind and finds out many complexes that are the determining factors in many of our customs and practices. It is also evident that by more and more extensive application of psychoanalytic principles sociological problems will become easy of interpretation.

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#### IV. THE BHILS OF KHANDESH.

BY

G. AHMED KHAN,

(*Revenue Commissioner, Aurangabad Division,  
Hyderabad*).

This is a brief note on the Bhils, whose original home extends to the northern part of the Aurangabad District, of which I am Collector. The importance of this area lies in the fact that here the blood of the weak and the defenceless was relentlessly spilt by the strong. I think that there is no other primitive tribe in India that paid such a heavy penalty for guilelessness as the Bhills. The pre-British periods of India are dotted with black spots of massacres, of which one relates to this virile community. More about it later.

THE NAME :—‘Bhil’ is a Dravidian word. *Vil* or *Bil* is the bow in ancient Tamil and Kanarese. When this ancient community was turned out of their homesteads and driven out of the plains by successive hordes of invaders it sought refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains. Hunting was the means of livelihood, and the bow and the arrow being the only weapons in use, the tribe came to be called *Bhil*.

ORIGIN. :—From a legend in the *Srī Bhāgavat* it appears that several centuries ago a king of Hindustan had two sons, of whom the elder called Nishad was dark in colour and deformed, and was sent to the jungles and wastes where he became the

progenitor of the Bhils. Nishad had twenty-two sons, each of whom married a wife from the surrounding population which ostensibly were the aborigines and assumed the name of the caste to which she belonged.

Another tradition is that Mahadev had a local bride who bore him a son remarkable for ugliness and vice and who having slain his father's bulls was expelled to the woods and mountains. His descendants were stigmatised as Bhils and Nishādas or outcastes. This accounts for the Australoid characteristics found in these people.

Whatever their origin may be there is no doubt that the Bhil is one of the so-called several pre-Dravidian groups, who in days of old having lost their all took shelter in the inaccessible mountain regions of India. Another story is related by Col. C. E. Luard. A Dhobi while washing clothes in a river was warned by a fish of an impending deluge. The Dhobi made an ark and accommodated himself, his sister and a cock in it. The deluge came and the country was destroyed but the ark was safe. Rama who was informed of it was amazed at the story of the Dhobi's escape. The Dhobi claimed the woman in the ark as his sister but subsequently retracted the statement and said that she was his wife. Rama being annoyed had the tongue of the fish which warned the Dhobi of the deluge cut out and ordered the Dhobi to repopulate the world, taking his sister for his wife. Rama presented the first-born son with a horse; but the recipient being unable

to ride it left the animal on the plains, went into the forest to cut wood and became the progenitor of the Bhil tribe. According to some authorities, the Bhils are a branch of the Mediterranean race, which migrated through the north-west pass into Gujarat and Malwa between the Satpura and Vindhya ranges. The above story refers to the adelphic marriages practised by the Mediterranean people and which were so common in ancient Egypt. Malcolm records that according to Bhil tradition their home is in the country to the north-west of Malwa, whence they were ousted by the invading Aryan-speaking people. The Bhils are found in the country between Ahmednagar and Khandesh. Whatever their origin the present Bhil possesses the mixed racial characteristics of the Caucasians and the Australoids.

Small numbers of them may be found in the Deccan, along the Ajanta hills, which separate Khandesh and Aurangabad and still a few in the far south of Madras, their name being Villiyan (Bowman).

My interest in this tribe was roused for two reasons : One is the presence among the tribe of persons who profess a Semitic religion, Islam, and the other is the existence of two towns Kannar and Antur (the Golgotha of the Bhils) in my district.

Their conversion to Islam is traceable to the Moghul conquest of India in the Seventeenth century. The Moghuls in their advance southward had to reckon with the hill tribes, who in orga-

nised bands, constituted a menace to the troops in the rear. Diplomacy proved a more powerful weapon than the instruments of war. The Moghuls befriended the Bhils by granting them protection in the hilly country and employed the able-bodied for commissariat purposes. The chiefs were convinced that the religion of the Moghuls was a religion of peace and enabled the Moghul Army to pass through unmolested. They and the Tadrīs of the Satpuras and the Nirdhīs of the Satmalas, who came under the influence of the Moghuls embraced Islam. Moghul soldiers took Bhil women for their wives and their offsprings professed the faith of their fathers. The new religion transformed the rough and unreliable elements into quiet and loyal folk.

Then came the rise of the Marāṭhā power. The territories inhabited by the Bhils came within the Marāṭhā sway. As were the conquerors so became the conquered. The Bhils renewed their predatory activities and committed severe excesses. They plundered villages and held persons in ransom within their strongholds. The Marāṭhās being unable to suppress the depredations of the Bhils conceived a novel but treacherous plan of ending the trouble. A feast was caused to be prepared and an invitation given to the Bhils, who not suspecting the plot, attended in large numbers. They were freely supplied with liquor and at a favourable moment an armed body of Marāṭhās fell on the "guests" and massacred them to the last man. Women and children who had

also come to the feast likewise fell victims to Mārāṭhā treachery. This atrocity took place at Kannar, situated among the Ballaghat hills, part of which are a continuation of the Satmala hills, on which is situated the beautiful "Outram Ghat". Another bloody holocaust occurred near Antur, where the terror-stricken men and women would be assembled in batches every year on the promise of a full pardon and hurled down from the high cliff, to destruction. Under similar barbarous circumstances large bodies of Bhils were murdered at Dharangaon, Challisgaon and Kopargaon; women were mutilated or smothered with smoke, and children dashed against stones.

The Mārāṭhās did not stop at that. A Bhil caught in a disturbed part of the country was, without investigation, flogged and hanged. Torture was mercilessly resorted to. Exposed to the sun, his nose slit, ears sliced off his head, the Bhil was roasted to death on the heated gun or by making him embrace a red hot iron chair. Let us expunge from our memory the bitter episodes connected with the Mārāṭhā rule. Providence intervened and saved the survivors when in liquidation of a debt the Mārāṭhās transferred the territory of the Bhils to the British in 1820. In that year a Bhil Agency was established with Kannar as its headquarters and yeoman's service was done by some of the British Military officers in reclaiming the wild and recalcitrant Bhils. General Outram, whose name commemorates the picturesque Ghaut road leading from the Deccan

plateau to the plains of Khandesh, was an outstanding figure along with a few others.

**APPEARANCE:**—The indigenous Bhil is of dark complexion, though well made, with high cheek bones, wide nostrils and wavy hair. The Moslem Bhils, due to the admixture of foreign blood are tall and well built and several shades fairer than the undiluted indigenous race. Their characteristic swarthy thick lips are common to the two groups of Bhils.

**CLANS.**—The Bhils on the plains are broken into numerous totemistic sub-divisions which are known by the names of animals, trees, places of residence and signs and signals. They do not intermarry.

**DRESS:**—The hill Bhil is scantily clothed. Except for a bit of loin cloth he is nude. But his lowland peasant brother is clothing himself in modern Hindu style with a turban, coat, *dhoti* and other paraphernalia according to his means and befitting the occasion. Women wear *sāris* but the bodice has not yet fully captured their fancy. The dress of the Bhil in general is in a stage of rapid evolution.

**ORNAMENTS:**—Their contact with communities on the plains has brought about visible changes in their apparel and other articles of possession. Men and women wear brass or silver ear-rings and some women adorn themselves with anklets. Their original footwear was a piece of hide held to the foot by strings. It is now the ordinary village *Chāmar's* production.

FOOD AND DRINK :—The hill Bhil has a predilection for carrion of domestic animals, but the plains Bhil scrupulously avoids it, as he can well afford to have mutton, vegetables, fish, millet bread, rice, curd *etc.* The mountain dweller's main food consists of roots, berries, garbage, *etc.* Country liquor brewed from Mohwa (*Bassia latifolia*) flower is freely consumed. It is a beverage without which no function is complete. Food is served in large earthen or bell-metal dishes, and four to five persons sit around the vessel and eat. Before commencing the meal the men remove their upper garments as their neighbours the Hindus do. Children eat at the same time as men but adult women wait until the men have finished.

CHARACTERISTICS :—Women exercise much influence over men. At one time women excelled in tribal warfare and used slings with great effect. Though timid and shy, Bhil women are kindly, intelligent, hard-working and honest.

Men, though fond of intoxicants, are faithful, honest and loyal. To strangers of peaceful disposition they are hospitable and entertaining. They are fond of music and have their own stringed instruments, and sing rhythmically and harmoniously. Story-telling is a great pastime with them.

OCCUPATION :—The Bhils love excitement and engage themselves in hunting and fishing. In the use of bows and arrows men are adepts. Boys are trained in the art at a very early age and proficiency in marksmanship is a qualification for



matrimony. Agriculture is the calling of the Bhils on the plains. Many of them are field-labourers.

**MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND DANCE:**—As said above, the Bhils are musically minded and when intoxicated they revel in dancing. Men in women's garb or animal skins dance to the accompaniment of drums. The Bhils in the east of the Satpura use the pumpkin flute and a *Dhol*. The latter is made of goat skin spread over the mouth of an wooden cup. The flute is represented by a narrow-necked pumpkin shell to which are fixed, two bamboo pipes with finger holes, three in one and five in another. To the other ends of the pipe are fixed horns of a buffalo or cow as ornaments. In the narrow neck of the pumpkin shell is a hole to which the Bhil applies his mouth and blows. The fingers play on the holes and melodious tunes are produced.

The Bhils in the West Satpuras use a tambourine of an ingenious pattern and a kettle drum.

The Bhil dance is very interesting to watch. Men and women in "fancy dress" join and keep time to the music with a double shuffle. They sway forward and backward, methodically wheel round in irregular circles and re-establish the the original circle, all in a faultless manner. The rhythmic movement of their muscles is noteworthy. Gesticulations and whooping are symbolical of the ancient war dance. Rolling on the ground and lying face downward and moving the hands up and

down to the accompaniment of music are considered to be sublime.

**RELIGION :—**The Bhils have their own tribal religion. They have no temples ; but install images in a mud parapet built around the trunk of a sacred tree. The images are mere stones smeared with red lead and oil. Their offerings to the gods are animals and liquor which they use after lighting a fire in front of the image,—apparently a survival of the primitive idea of burnt sacrifice. The head of the tribe presides over ceremonial functions, social and religious. Their chief god is Vaghdev, the tiger god. The Bhils in the plains worship Hindu gods such as Bhairoba, Khandoba, Kanoba, Meta etc. Spirit worship is common to all.

Moslem Bhils, being dis-organised in matters of religion have not yet been divorced from their primitive conception of gods. Idol worship is still prevalent. They pray to Mussalman saints and to Khande Rao and in doing so they make a mud horse and offer it to the god who answers their petition. The horse occupies a place of veneration in their folklore, and their stories abound in exploits of the enchanted horse.

**FEASTS AND FESTIVALS :—**The Holi and Dasara are the principal festivals which are celebrated with all the warmth they could derive from liquor. Drunken orgies mark the climax of their enjoyment. The Holi celebration is attended with vulgarities characteristic of the festival as observed by the lower orders of Hindu society. But the

Bhils derive greater enjoyment on these occasions by visiting the nearest populous villages on the plains. This is another means of aping the ways of their civilised brethern on the plains.

**SUPERSTITIONS :—**Like all primitive people the Bhils are extremely superstitious and have great faith in omens. The hooting at night of an owl on the left and the cawing of a crow in the same direction are auspicious. If by an accident a man dropped his bread it is a sure indication of some impending disaster to the person. The sight of a dead snake or of a silent stranger passing by are good omens, especially when the Bhil goes in search of sport. When, on the other hand, he meets with a series of inauspicious incidents he cries "Nāt Lāgā" and drawing on the ground the figure of a man or woman or both burns on the spot a handful of dry grass or straw and beats the ground with a stick heaping abuses. Thus he kills ill-luck.

The belief in witch-craft is rife among the Bhils. Human sacrifices to ward off evil influences are now unheard of.

**LANGUAGE :—**The language of the Bhils is determined by the geographical situation of the community. The Bhils speak dialects of Mārāṭhi, Gujrāṭi and Hindusthāni which have no admixture of any of the Dravidian languages.

**MARRIAGE AND DEATH :—**Marriages are arbitrarily arranged by the Panch and the Nāik. A feast with a sumptuous supply of liquor constitutes the marriage ceremony. The dead are burnt

or buried according to convenience and the graves of the Naiks alone are identified with a pile of stones smeared with red vermilion.

The customs of the plains Bhils have undergone a change since their contact with the Hindus.

MUSLIM BHIL :—He wears ear-rings like the rest of his tribe, and is engaged in agricultural occupation. The well-to-do dons the *sipāhi* dress and adds to it the matchlock gun and word of the ancient Moghul. He is a good sportsman and fleet of foot. If his matchlock misfired he would chase the game, such as the peafowl and jungle fowl in an attempt to catch it. He is a reliable *sipāhi* or constable. The Muslim Bhil is as fond of liquor as his animistic brother.

Generally the Muslim Bhils are poor cultivators. Women help men in gathering wood and grass and carrying loads of bamboos.

The Moslem Bhil is ignorant of Muslim tenets and creeds although he employs a Qazi to preside over marriage celebrations.

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## V. AN ENQUIRY FOR TRACES OF "DARWINS TUBERCLES" IN THE EARS OF THE PEOPLE OF BENGAL.

By

BHUPENDRANATH DATTA, M.A., DR. PHIL.

An enquiry for the presence of auricular tubercle of Darwin is a part of the somatological investigation on the body of the subjects<sup>1</sup>. The presence of the same on the body of the subjects is being noted down by the anthropologists in different parts of the world; of course there is no racial value attached to it. Nor it is exceptional with a given group of people.

The tubercle which is known as "Tuberculum Darwinii" is a small one, and is to be found on the helix border of the ear where it turns downwards posteriorly. This tubercle is very evident about the sixth month of foetal life, when the whole auricula has a close resemblance to that some of the adult monkeys<sup>2</sup>, while describing the outer ear Martin says "the process of retrogressive formation rests essentially in rolling in the Helix border and the appearance of Crus Anthelicis, and the history of Evolution teaches us that human ear in its intrauterine stage passes through the forms that accord with permanent

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<sup>1</sup> Vide-Von Luschan-"Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen aufdem Gebiete der Anthropologie etc" P 30; Martin-"Beobachtungsblatt" in "Lehrbuch der Anthropologie".

<sup>2</sup> Grey's *Anatomy*. P 1022.

forms of some monkeys (*Macacus, cercopithecus*)\* In the case of latter also, in connection with the formation of an Anthelix fold, the Helix gets more or less rolled in; and in this way originates earforms especially with the anthropomorphs that are very near to man. These folds are to be regarded as the expression of decreased energy for growth, while with many Mammalia (ungulates, Rodents, Chiropters etc.) the opposite process takes place. Hand in hand with the rolling in, goes a broadening of the anterior insertion line of the ear on the skin of the cheek and a reduction of the ear muscles; then broader the insertion more immovable must be the auricle (ohrmuschel). A progressive development on human ear is to be seen only in the earlobes which are possessed also by the anthropomorphs in a small grade.

“Through this above mentioned reduction process the human ear has lost at least in the majority of cases the stamped points of the free earfolds that are to be seen in the animal ears, i.e. it has not completely disappeared but by the rolling in of the Helix border it has been turned into within and have become flattened. In fact, in the form of so called Darwin's Tubercle (*Tuberculum auricularii Darwinii*) it is present many times as a small prominence which is situated above on the posterior part of the

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\* G. Schwalbe “*Das Darwinsche Spitzohr beim menschlichen Embryo*” in Anat Anz Bd. 4. p. 176. 1889.



"As regards its presence in the other European groups the following data show that the forms 1-3 are to be found in Hungary (Budapesth) in 3%; with the Great Russian in 13.5%; in Italy (Turin) 3.5%; in Saxony 32.8% in lower Alsace 36%; with the English 55% (Keith gives for the English of Petersborough only 12%ff). Again, Hilden in his study of Darwin's tubercle in the population of Finland in 1929 shows that 50% of the boys and 43% of the girls have the tubercle"<sup>6</sup>.

Martin further says, "there is a regional difference in this matter in Europe. In the case of non-European races, the forms 1 and 2 are lacking in the case of the Senoi. In this case the stamping of the tubercles, especially the forms 4-5 are frequently to be seen. The tubercle, absolutely lacks in the case of the Orang Kubu. With the Melanesians it is present in 40% (without distinguishing the forms); with the Andamanese in 38%; with the East-Asiatics in 25%; with the Negroes of central Africa in 12%; with the Hottentots in 6%. The forms 1-3 are to be found with Kalmuks in 3.7%; with the Ainus in 7.2%". Thus according to Martin the appearance of Darwin's tubercle is greater with some European groups than with the non-European races.

Further, Hilden's<sup>7</sup> study of Darwin's tubercle in the population of Finland in 1929 shows that

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<sup>6</sup> Vide R. R. Gates-*"Heredity in Man"* P 235.

<sup>7</sup> " " *Ibid.*



50% of the boys and 43% of the girls have the tubercle. Gates<sup>8</sup> says "in various people the infolded edge of of the helix has a more or less conspicuous projecting point which Darwin (Descent of man) regarded as a remnant of the erect, pointed ears of our anthropoid ancestors". Thus Darwin's tubercle has been observed amongst the different peoples of the world. Meyer as quoted by Darwin, also recorded the tubercle more frequently in men than in women.

Again, according to Gates, "when present in only one ear, Darwin's tubercle was rather surprisingly found to be twice as frequent in the right as in the left".<sup>9</sup>

In this paper the result of the enquiry of tracing *Tuberculum Darwinii* in the ears of the people of Bengal is put down. The subjects chosen are from various castes, religions and localities; hence the subjects though small in number are fair representatives of the population. As it is in vogue with the anthropologists to take note of the presence of the *Tuberculum Darwinii* amongst the boys of immature age, the same method has been followed here; for this reason the data taken on the boys are given. Again, the names of only those subjects who have got the tubercle are put down in this paper, hence its presence amongst the population cannot be traced in percentage. Further, as it has not been possible to examine the womenfolk, the result of the examination on male subjects only have been put down here.

The subjects in question here, contain the ear-tubercle on the edge of the helix of their ears. The total number of subjects given in this paper is 66. During the examination of the *Tuberculum*

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

Darwinii the tubercle is divided according to the forms that are to be seen in the ears. Firstly the full-sized form is labelled as "Tubercle", small sized is labelled as "small" and various rudimentary forms are labelled here as "rudimentary". Thus we get 28 subjects with "tubercles", 25 with "small size," 13 with "rudimentary" form. Amongst these 25 subjects have tubercles in both ears, 22 have it in the right ear and another 19 in the left ear.

Expressed in percentage 28 i.e., 42.42% have got the tubercle in its full form, 25 i.e. 37.87% in small size and 13 i.e. 19.69% have got it in rudimentary form. Again, 25 subjects i.e. 37.87% have the tubercle in both the ears, 22 subjects i.e. 33.33% have it in right ear while another 19 subjects i.e. 28.78% have it in the left ear.

It is to be noticed in this paper that when the tubercle is present in one ear only, the proportion though lesser in left ear does not completely agree with Gates' report.

Further, it is to be noticed here that amongst the subjects below adult age i.e. from the age of 21 years downward, 12 subjects have got the tubercle in its "rudimentary" form, 4 have got it in "small" form and 3 only have got the "tubercle" i.e. in full form. Thus expressed in percentage it is to be said that amongst the 19 boys 12 i.e. 63.15% have got the tubercle in in "rudimentary" form, 4 i.e. 21.05% have got in "small" form, and 3 i.e. 15.78% have got the "tubercle" form. It seems amongst the subjects under age a great majority have the tubercle in a rudimentary form. Hence the question arises, is it due to the immature age of the subject or is it a natural form?

The data given here is too small to lead to any definite opinion. Wide observation on the subject on all parts of India is necessary.

### Data of Darwin's tubercles in the ears of people of Bengal.

Serial No.	Name.	Caste.	Religion.	Age.	District.	Somatic Peculiarity.
1	Sachindra Raha	Kayastha (Varendra)	Hindu	22	Pabna	Tubercles in both ears
2	Behari Mondol	Namasudra	"	36	Backerganj	Tubercle in right ear
3	Mohiruddi Sarkar	Moslem	Islam	50	Pabna	Tubercle in both ear
4	Kalachand Goswami	Brahman (Rahri)	Hindu	23	Dacca	Small traces in both ears
5	Arun Roy	Vaidya	"	33	"	Tubercles in both ears
6	Rames Chowdry	Brahman (Rahri)	"	32	Mymensingh	"
7	Nagendra Datta	Kayastha (Bangaj)	"	24	"	Small traces in both ears
8	Benode Chakravarty	Brahman (Rahri)	"	30	"	"
9	Mahes Marak	Garos	Hindu (?)	25	"	Tubercle in right ear
10	Abdul Hakim	Moslem	Islam	22	"	"
11	Harnath Banerji	Brahman (Rahri)	Hindu	22	Khulna	Tubercle in right ear
12	Bidhu Sen	Kayastha (Bangaj)	"	22	Dacca	Small traces in both ears
13	Chaitanya Acharya	Brahman (Acharya)	"	30	Pabna	Tubercles in both ears
14	Sudhir Basu	Kayastha (Bangaj)	"	24	Dacca	"
15	Sasi Bhattacharya	Brahman (Rahri)	"	36	Tippera	"
16	Satis Barman	Rajbansi	"	25	Rungpur	Small trace in right ear
17	Bhupesh Roy	Kayastha (Bangaj)	"	33	Backerganj	Tubercle in right ear
18	Prafulla Das	"	"	25	Pabna	Tubercles in both ears

Serial No.	Name.	Caste.	Religion.	Age.	District.	Somatic Peculiarities.
19	Ramendra Ghosh	Kayastha (D.-R.)*	Hindu	25	Malda	Small traces in both ears
20	Manindra Sinha	"	"	37	Rungpur	Tubercle in both ears
21	Sudhangsu Bose	"	"	29	Hugly	Tubercle in left ear
22	Dulal Ganguli	Brahman (Rahri)	"	22	Jessore	Small trace in left ear
23	Premtosh Sengupta	Vaidya	"	25	Dacca	Small trace in right ear
24	Vishnupada Bhattacharya	Brahman (Vaidik)	"	23	Howrah	"
25	Shyamapada Bhattacharya	"	"	25	"	Slight trace in left ear
26	Probhat Sen	Kayastha (D. R.)	"	22	Hugly	Small trace in right ear
27	Durga Dey	Subarnabania	"	28	"	Small trace in left ear
28	Kripa Halder	Satchasi	"	28	24 Pergannats	Rudimentary in left ear
29	Rabindra Bose	Kayastha (D. R.)	"	26	Calcutta	Tubercle in both ears (comparatively slighter in right ear)
30	Atindra Bose	"	"	65	"	Tubercle in right ear
31	Panchu Das	Dom	"	22	"	Small trace in right ear
32	Sailendra Bose	Kayastha (D. R.)	"	22	"	Small in right ear
33	Anil Palit	"	"	41	Hugly	Tubercle in right ear
34	Sasanka Ghosal	Brahman (Rahri)	"	25	Burdwan	Tubercle in left ear
35	Makhan Ghose	Kayastha (D. R.)	"	28	24 Pergannats	Small trace in right ear
36	Jatindra Bose	"	"	55	"	Tubercle in right ear

\* Dakshin Rahri.

Serial No.	Name.	Caste.	Religion.	Age.	District.	Somatic Peculiarities.
37	Pramatha Chatterji	Brahman (Rahri)	Hindu	50	24 Pergannahs	Small traces in both ears (comparatively more prominent in left ear)
38	Amar Bose	Kayastha (D.R.)	"	45	Calcutta	Tubercle in left ear
39	Bijoy Gupta	Vaidya	"	46	"	Small trace in left ear
40	Ramnarain Ghose	Kayastha (D. R.)	"	30	Howrah	Tubercle in left ear
41	Khudiram Ghose	"	"	22	Calcutta	Small traces in both ears
42	Biren Palit	"	"	22	Hugly	Tubercle in right ear (slight trace in left ear)
43	Manmohan Ghose	"	"	25	Calcutta	Small trace in left ear
44	Lalit Banerjee	Brahman (Rahri)	"	44	"	Tubercles in both ear
45	Chuni Banerji	"	"	34	Howrah	Small in both ears
46	Ratan Mitra	Kayastha (D. R.)	"	23	Calcutta	Small in right ear
47	Jatindra Chatterji	Brahman (Rahri)	"	22	Jessore	Tubercles in both ears
48	Rabin Das	Sudra	"	21	Calcutta	Rudimentary in right ear
49	Indu Bhattacharya	Brahman	"	18	"	Tubercles in both ears
50	Gobin Pal	Tili	"	17	"	Rudimentary in left ear
51	Dhone Chaudhury	Brahman (Rahri)	"	16	"	"
52	Pratap Chakrabarti	"	"	16	"	"
53	Mahadev Pal	Tili	"	16	"	Rudimentary in both ears
54	Sunil Biswas	Modak	"	16	"	"
55	Balai Das	Kansari	"	14	"	Small in left ear

Serial No.	Name.	Caste.	Religion.	Age.	District.	Somatic.
56	Subodh Palit	Kayastha (D. R.)	Hindu	14	Hugly	Rudimentary in left ear
57	Radha R. Sarkar	"	"	13	Dacca	Small in left ear
58	Bisessur Das	Kansari	"	13	Calcutta	Small in right ear
59	Probodh Banerji	Brahman (Rahri)	"	13	"	Tubercles in both ears
60	Sukumar Bose	Kayasth (D. R.)	"	12	Howrah	Small in both ears
61	Gopinath Pal	Tili	"	12	Dacca	Rudimentary in right ear
62	Gopal Kundu	"	"	12	Calcutta	Rudimentary in left ear
63	Probhat Bose	Kayastha (D. R.)	"	12	"	Rudimentary in right ear
64	Probhas Bose	"	"	11	"	Rudimentary in right ear
65	Asoke Palit	"	"	10	Hugly	Rudimentary in left ear
66	Kartik Daw	Kansari	"	10	Calcutta	Tubercle in left ear

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

In a previous issue of this Journal (MI XIV. 318), we had occasion to refer in this section to some of the important discoveries made by the Yale North India Expedition which worked in India during 1932-1933 under the leadership of Dr. H. de Terra. Encouraged by the unprecedented success of the last expedition, Dr. H. de Terra arrived in Calcutta early in March with the view of conducting another expedition in search for both artefacts and skeletal remains of our "early ancestors" in the Salt Range and the Punjab area already traversed last time. After the completion of the survey of this region there is a likelihood of his visiting the Narbada valley which is also a rich centre of fossil remains as also of palæolithic culture. He expects to have the collaboration of M Teilhard de Chardin whose recent studies in connection with *Sinanthropus pekinensis* are well-known. The entire expenditure of the expedition, it is reported, will be met jointly by the Yale University, the Carnegie Institute of Washington, and the American Philosophical Institute.

The Inauguration ceremony of the NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SCIENCES OF INDIA was performed on January, 7, 1935, by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal. The aims and objects of the Institute are as follows :—(i) to promote knowledge of the sciences in India including its practical application to problems of national welfare ; (ii) to effect co-ordination between scientific academies, societies, institutions, and Government scientific departments and services ; (iii) to act as a body of scientists

of eminence for the promotion and safeguarding of the interests of scientists in India and to represent internationally the scientific work of India ; (iv) to act, through properly constituted National committees in which other learned academies and societies will be associated, as the National Research Council of India, for undertaking such scientific work of national and international importance as the Council may be called upon to perform by the public and by Government ; (v) to secure and manage funds and endowments for the promotion of science etc. Dr. L. L. Fermor, Director of the Geological Survey of India has been elected its first President, and Prof. S. P. Agharkar and Dr. A. M. Heron, Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, as Secretaries. This Institute, as stated in the Provisional Rules, will consist of Honorary Fellows and Ordinary Fellows, the total number of which, at the time of foundation was 125, and henceforth not more than 10 persons will be elected to the Fellowship annually. At the first General meeting of the Institute, held on the 8th January, 1935, papers were read on both physical and biological sciences. The only ethnological paper read on that occasion was by Dr. J. H. Hutton, the subject being "Mon and Munda in India and beyond".

The discovery of the remains of Stone Age men in Kenya by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey is undoubtedly of unique importance in human palaeontology. But opinions are divided among anthropologists as to the geological age of the bed in



which Kanam and Kanjera fossils were found. Suggestions were put forward by Dr. Hans Weirner (cf. *Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie*. Band XXXIV, 1934, P. 459.) and Dr. R. Vaufray (cf. *L'Anthropologie*, tome XLIV, P. 212) and others to conduct a fresh examination of the bed as Reck and Leakey's stratigraphy was considered to be doubtful. Accordingly, a new East African Archaeological Expedition was sent to Kenya to study anew "the geology of the deposits from which the Kanam mandible and Kanjera No 3 skull fragments were obtained". In a letter to the "NATURE," March 9, 1935, under the caption, "Human Remains from Kanam and Kanjera, Kenya Colony," Prof. P. G. H. Boswell, who joined the expedition and, therefore, had an opportunity of studying the bed *in situ*, has expressed his views which are in close agreement with the opinions already held that the extremely early age assigned to Kanam and Kanjera must be taken with reserve. The expedition in question has brought to light several important facts :— firstly, that the expedition of 1931-1932 had not left any suitable mark so as to enable any later expedition to locate the exact site of the finds, and, secondly, that the photograph, now available, of the locality where the Kanam mandible was supposed to have been unearthed, was taken, "through some error," from an entirely different place. Added to these are the clayey beds which were subject to considerable disturbances by "slumping". These facts have led Prof. Boswell to

opine that "the geological age of the mandible and skull fragments is uncertain". Dr. E. J. Wayland, Director of the Geological Survey of Uganda, also agrees with his conclusion.

In a previous issue of this journal (MI, XIV, 325), mention was made of an article on "Implements used by Solo Man" by Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels. This famous Dutch prehistorian has offered another illuminating article in "THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS," January, 5, 1935 in which he has given an account of an excavation that has of late been carried on at Guak Kepah in the Straits Settlements. The sites chosen for excavation are three kitchen-middens which, since the days of Earl, were known to be rich centres of fossil remains. Since 1934, excavation work has been going on at full swing, as a result of which were revealed remains of what Dr. Callenfels called the second stage of Hoabinhian culture (named "after the Hoabinh Province in French Indo-China where it was found in its purest form"). The remains of human beings that had been unearthed here belonged undoubtedly to that race which was responsible for the introduction of this culture. One curious custom that had been noticed and a feature in which it differed from the early Hoabinhian culture was the abundant use of "powdered red shale" in dead bodies. It is interesting to note that certain "mesolithic type of Hoabinhian artefacts" had been discovered. Although the neolithic axes found here were mostly crudely shaped, the presence of several axes with grooves for the attach-

ment of rattan handles tend to suggest that these had been imported by a later drift of Hoabinhian culture. Sherds of "textile-marked" pottery and beads of fish vertebra were also found associated with these implements. These discoveries have amazingly brought to light many important and hitherto unknown data which, we have reason to believe, carry us "one step further towards the solution of the prehistoric problems of the Far East," which are still wrapped up in deep obscurity.

'*The Times*' of London, January, 24, 1935, published the news that Mr. Paterson, the Minister of Interior of the Australian Government, received a deputation from ten pure aborigines in which they requested the Government, in view of their great economic distress, to consider the establishment of a Federal Department of Native Affairs, under a sympathetic administrator such as Sir Hubert Murray, the present Lieutenant Governor of Papua, as well as the formation of an Advisory Council comprised of experts who can help the Government with advice in social, anthropological and educational matters relating to the aborigines. Mr. Paterson has assured them that due and sympathetic consideration will be given to this proposal at the next conference of Premiers.

A new ethnological journal has recently been started in Germany under the title of "*Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde und ihre Nachbargebiete*," the first number of which is now to hand. It is edited by Prof. Egon Freiherr von Eickstedt,

the noted ethnologist of Breslau, in friendly co-operation with a large number of distinguished anthropologists and ethnologists from different corners of the world, India being represented by Dewan Bahadur L. K. A. Iyer. Prof. Von Eickstedt, it will be remembered, led several ethnological expeditions to India which gave him an opportunity of knowing what primitive peoples in India really are like. It is hoped that these experiences will serve him now in good stead in conducting this journal. Judging from the contents of original articles as well as of two extremely valuable sections "Neuerscheinungen" and "Nachrichten" in the present number it seems that Prof. Von Eickstedt has spared no pains in making this new journal a proper worthy contemporary of "*Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie*" and "*Anthropologischer Anzeiger*," the two first-rate anthropological journals in Germany associated with the names of G. Schultze and R. Martin. It is published by Ferdinand Enke of Stuttgart and its annual subscription is RM. 22—a moderate rate as compared to those of *Z. für Morphologie und Anthropologie* and other German scientific journals. We wish God-speed to our new contemporary and hope that it will encourage and really scientific views regarding racial problems and not such perverted doctrines as are embodied in the recent Nordic frenzy with which modern Germany is saturated.

At a meeting recently held in Paris under the auspices of the Italian Society of Criminal

Anthropology and Psychology, a society has been formed with the name of "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY". The first congress of this society is expected to take place in Rome in October, 1935.

Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, who was, until a few years ago the Chairman of the Board of Higher Studies in Anthropology, and Lecturer-in-charge, Anthropology Department, Calcutta University, has been elected Fellow of the French Academy. He was also presented with the French National "Brevet" belonging to "officier d'Academie" by His Excellency the Minister of Education, France. He has also been honoured with the title of Dewan Bahadur on the occasion of his Majesty king-Emperor's birth day ceremony. We offer our sincere congratulations to Dewan Bahadur Iyer for his new honours.

At a meeting of the Indian Academy of Sciences held at Bangalore on March 19, Prof. S. A. C. Germano da Silva Correia of the Medical college, New Goa, and Prof. L. Cipriani, of the University of Florence (Italy), who is working at present at Travancore, both well-known anthropologists, have been elected Fellows of the Academy. Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, a noted statistician of Calcutta, whose re-examination of Risley's measurements of the Castes and Tribes of Bengal has of late attracted the attention of Indian ethnologists has also been admitted to the fellowship.

Prof. W. E. le Gros Clark, Lees Professor of Anatomy, University of Oxford, whose recent monograph on "Early Fore-runners of Man: a morphological study of the Evolutionary origin of the Primates" has earned for him high reputation both as an anatomist and anthropologist, has been elected Fellow of the Royal Society, London.

Dr. E. A. Hooton, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Harvard (U. S. A.) has been elected a member of the U. S. National Academy of Sciences. (Science Service)

It is reported in "NATURE," January 1926, 1935, that Prof. "Othenio Abel," until recently the Professor of Palaeontology and Palæobiology in the University of Vienna, has been appointed ordinary Professor of Geology and Palaeontology in the University of Göttingen and Director of the Geological and Palaeontological Institute and Museum of the University. Among his many important contributions his recent monograph "Die Stellung des Menschen in Rahmen der Wirbeltiere" (1931) is decidedly very valuable for anthropologists since it is, as Prof. Sir Grafton Elliot Smith has said "the most complete book of reference on Primate palaeontology so far issued". It is reported that Mrs. Hilda G. Durai has been appointed Honorary Reader in Anthropology in the University of Madras. Prof. Dr. Franz Weiden Reich has been appointed Director of Cainozoic Research Laboratory in succession to late Prof. Davidson Black. He has also been appointed a Visiting Professor in the University of Peiping.

The Rivers Medal for 1934 has been awarded to Miss Gertrude Caton Thompson for her archaeological Studies in Egypt etc.

*Obituary:—*

We regret to announce the death of the following distinguished anthropologists :—

1. Prof. Ronald B. Dixon, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Harvard (U.S.A.), and author of "Racial History of Man" (1923), "Building of Cultures" (1928), besides several valuable papers dealing with the languages and cultures of the American Indians, died on December 20, 1934, at the age of fifty-nine. Our readers will remember that he contributed in this journal (M. I. II. I.) an article on "The Khasis of Assam" which though based on scanty materials, is still a valuable piece of work concerning the ethnology of Assam.
2. Prof. J. Macmillan Brown, Chancellor of the University of New Zealand and author of "Maori and Polynesian," "The Riddle of the Pacific" (1924), and "Peoples and Problems of the Pacific" (1927), died at Wellington, New Zealand, on January, 18, 35 at the age of 89.
3. Prof. Arthur Thomson, late Lees Professor of Human Anatomy, in the University of Oxford, died on February 7, 1935 at the age of 77. The following are some of his

important publications :—"Anthropometrical study of the Veddahs of Ceylon," "Anatomy for Art students," (with Buxton) "Man's nasal Index in relation to certain Climatic Conditions" (with Randall-Maciver), "Ancient Races of Thebaid," "Genial Tubercles of the Mandible". It was due to his enterprise that a regular Diploma course in Anthropology was started in the University of Oxford in 1907.

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## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for July to December, 1934, Sir Aurel Stein gives an account of the *Prehistory of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands* as revealed in the materials unearthed by him in the course of his explorations in about 65 sites, undertaken to trace the links of the 'Indus civilization' with the chalcolithic remains of the 'Near East'. In some of these sites even terracotta figurines of the Mother Goddess, of humped bulls and other objects of a distinctly Indian cult, such as representations of the *Linga* and *Yoni*, indicative of close relation to the Indus civilisation, were found. A continuous chain of remains was found to attest the essential unity of the civilization which existed during chalcolithic times in the border region between India and Iran. Though historical records are lacking regarding the great ethnic movement across that region that brought Aryan tribes speaking Vedic Sanskrit to the Indus valley and the Pan-jab, Sir Aurel Stein refers to certain epigraphic, philological and geographical considerations to indicate the route of Aryan migration into India through Mitanni, Persian Belūchistan and Makran.

In *Man* for April, 1935, Mr. A. Aiyappan, in a note on the *Problem of the Primitive Tribes of India*, suggests the need of a "fuller sociological inquiry into the conditions of the tribes and for basing ultimate decisions on really scientific data".

He agrees with Dr. H. Hutton in thinking that "the creation of self-governing tribal areas with free power of self-determination" appears to be "the best solution of most of the aboriginal problems", and "more such tribal units could be made if provincial and district boundaries, that now arbitrarily separate tribes into groups under different kinds of authorities, were removed wherever possible".

In *Man* for May, 1935, K. de B : Codrington contributes an article on "Iconography: Classical and Indian", in which he ascribes a Baubo descent to the design of a moulded terra-cotta female figurine from Mathura (now in the Indian Museum at South Kensington) in a squatting posture with the pudenda displayed, and the other side (back) in the form of a toad. This squatting posture, it is pointed out, is found in the caryatid friezes of dwarfs (*Kichakas, Ganas*) at Barhut and later recrudesces at Badami, and at Kanārak. In the same number, Major D. H. Gordon, notes a few points of interest in the Singanpur and Kabra Patrar rock-painting in the Raigarh State. He points out that fig. 10 in Prof. Gordon Childe's *New Light on the Most Ancient East* bears no resemblance to any painting in the Singanpur rock-shelter. "It can only be presumed that whoever first drew it, intended it for the boar (?) which is just below the large animal in the famous hunting scene". Memoir 24 of the Archaeological Survey of India will show that both the animal and its adjacent figures are different

in the original. The two harpoon-like signs on the animal taken along with the next figure showing two Natufian harpoons of similar type would be most misleading.

In *Folk-Lore* for March 1935, reference is made to the threshold designs traced by women in Deccan, namely, those dedicated to Ganesh, Lord of obstacles, who is believed to protect the house from evil spirits, and other designs on the threshold to attract Lakshmī, and another small geometrical drawing near them, to draw aside the glance of the Evil Eye.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September and December, 1934, under the heading "*A False Linguistic Family: The Austro-Asiatic*", W. F. de Hevesy adduces reasons for re-considering Pater Schmidt's theory as to the existence of an "Austro-Asiatic" and "Austrie" family of languages.

In *Indian Culture* for April 1935, Dr. Panchaman Mitra contributes an article on "*Culture Change in Primitive and Higher Stages*" in which the author formulates some of the problems arising out of the study of culture change, as follows: "Is there one stream of human social consciousness, and have the changes wherever happening and in whatever different shape some relationship to each other? What is the relationship of the transcendental genius to the part of the stream where he comes to the surface? Is the passage of time evolving higher types and bringing about more fundamental changes more intensely

and more rapidly than in primitive times? Is comparative study of primitive and later cultural changes more intensely and more rapidly proceeding than in primitive times? Is comparative study of primitive and later cultural changes going to yield us clues to this process of change and incidentally recover to us the scientific knowledge of mind as experimental psychology is revealing the mechanism of individual mind"?

In *Science and Culture* for June, 1935, R. B. Rama Prasad Chanda contributes an article on "*Aryan, Indo-Aryan, and Dravidian*". In this article the author attempts to show that the Hindu doctrine of *suddha* (unmixed) *bhakti* (love and devotion) to God is "a legacy from prehistoric Dravidian polytheism according to which each tribal god was believed to be residing permanently in a local shrine like Yakshas residing in *charitya* trees. These original Dravidian gods were later on absorbed by S'iva or Vishnu who, "while usurping the local shrines, assumed characters of local deities to meet local needs". The "doctrine of enforced liberation" (God thrusting upon the devotees out of His grace) is according to Mr. Chanda, "intended to reconcile God (called Vishnu or S'iva) as conceived by believers in the transmigration of the soul, to a conception of life after death that originated among a people who did not believe in the transmigration at the initial stage".

In the *Indian Journal of Medical Research*, 22, 3rd Jan. 1935, is published an

interesting article entitled "*Blood Groups and Heredity*" by Capt. P. N. Mitra. The aim of this article is to study how far blood-groups are hereditarily transmissible. Blood of 2000 individuals was examined. All of them, however, are fair representatives of the population of Upper Assam, the majority having been the students and out-door patients of the Government Hospital at Dibrugarh, Assam. The slide technique was used. The percentages of blood-groups are as follows :—

Total	A	B	AB	O
2000	491 (24.55%)	651 (32.55%)	185 (9.25%)	673 (33.65%)

Berustein's formula has been worked out. Here is the author's conclusion :—"The human blood group factor, as observed at Dibrugarh, is transmitted by heredity according to the triple allelomorph theory of Berustein". It should be noted here that in his otherwise excellent "references" no mention has been made of Dr. A. Chaudhuri's article entitled "*Blood Groups and Heredity*" (*Indian Medical Gazette*, Vol. LXVI. No. 4. 1931) having as its object the same problem but observed on a different population—on the Kayasthas of Bengal.

*Hans-Eberhard Kauffmann—Land wirtschaft bei den Bergvölkern von Assam und Nord-Burma.* (Agriculture among the hilly peoples of Assam and North-Burma). *T. für Ethnologie*, 1934 Heft 1/3. (A summary of this article will appear in our next issue).

Dr. Gilbert Slater has contributed an article on "*India and the Origins of Civilisation*" in the *India Review*. vol. XXXVI. January, No 1. 1935. On a consideration of the Mohenjodaro finds, Dr. Slater thinks that Indian pre-Vedic Dravidian) civilisation is the most ancient of all the civilisations of antiquity, and that to Dravidian pioneers in the life-giving arts of peace, the world owes more of its material prosperity than to the people of any other race or country.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

### *Ethnology and Archaeology.*

*Sumatra*, by E. M. Loeb, & *The Archaeology and Art of Sumatra*, by R. Heine-Geldern. (Published as vol. III. of "Wiener Beiträge Zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik" des Institutes für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien. Institutes für Völkerkunde, W. Koppers, Vienna [Wien], 1935 ).

This book which deals with the history, archaeology, art and ethnology of Sumatra, supplies a long-felt want. It is brimful of interesting data. An introductory chapter on the geography, geology, history and population of Sumatra is followed by accounts of (1) the Bataks, (2) Minangkabau, (3) the people of Nias (Niha) Island, (4) the people of the Mentawai Islands, (5) the people of the Engano Island, (6) the people of Atjeh, (7) the people of Gajo and Alas, and (8) the people of Lampong. Then follow short accounts of such primitive peoples as (1) the Kubu, (2) the Orang Mاماq, (3) the Sakai and Akit, (4) the Lubu and Ulu, (5) the Orang Benua, and (6) the Jakun.

In his discussion of the various peoples of Sumatra, the author shows that wave after wave of cultural influence had swept over the island from the direction of India, bringing certain of the groups to a high state of civilisation. The first Malaysians who came to Sumatra, and presum-

ably found Negritos and 'Veddoids' scattered in small family groups, were perhaps not less primitive than the original Malayan settlers, but gradually received more and more cultural elements from further Malaysian settlers from the mainland and thus improved in culture and succeeded in exterminating the Negritos and pushing the 'Veddoids' back into the more desolate parts of the island. Evidently these races were unable to assimilate traits of higher culture introduced by the new immigrants.

The first traits which the original Malayasians of Sumatra received in this way are said to have included the use of pile dwellings, the out-rigger canoe and the sail-boat, the domestication of tubular roots including taro and yam, the preparation of sago, and the domestication of the pig and chicken. With the coming of pile-dwellings came the introduction of the sib organisation, the use of the men's house, and the people divided their villages into hamlets, each hamlet under its own leaders; and later the cultivation of rice, at least the dry variety, the practice of certain crafts, including iron-working, and division of labour among the male population. The Hindu immigrants suppressed head-hunting and superseded the construction of megalithic monuments by large stone work. The traits introduced by the Hindus included wet rice and cotton cultivation and the plough, and the spinning-wheel, and, more important than these, higher concepts of life and religion. The Malays who admit into their communities any convert to Islam, are a



composite of all races, and are ready to accept the new in all forms and variations, and are thus a progressive people. In the second part of this volume the different cultural strata with regard to archæology and art in Sumatra from the late palæolithic culture down to Hindu-Sumatrean culture which took birth at the very latest during the second century A. D. under the influence of Hindu colonists and Brāhman and Buddhist missionaries and with continual influences from different parts of India and Greater India (Java, Cambodia, Siam and Burma) and lasted at least till the 14th century A. D., and the later Muhammadan culture which commenced from about the middle of the 13th century, and later Chinese influences, are briefly discussed in the light of materials so far unearthed by archaeological research, which is still at its beginning in the island.

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**The Sacred Edifices of the Batak of Sumatra.**  
By Harley Harris Bartlett. (Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1934). pp. 29.

This is one of the occasional contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan. It gives accounts of certain sacred and ceremonial structures (temples, grave-shrines and grave-houses) that were formerly characteristic of the Batak region of Sumatra, and short notes on sarcophagi, ceremonial and magical inclosures, and ceremonial apparatus (such

as altars) that are of such bulky or temporary nature as not to be represented in ordinary ethnographic collections. Thirty-one plates with short descriptions are appended to the essay which covers 29 pages. Reference to 27 works and articles are given. This is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the archaeology of Sumatra.

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**The Role of the Deserts.** By A. J. McInerny, (The Channing Press, London, 1933). pp. 43. 4s. 6d. net.

This interesting essay purports to be the synopsis of a larger work to be shortly published. The author seeks to show that great tropical deserts are zones of disinfection and vast fields of human evolution under whose influence the jungleman develops the highest human types. We are told, "Man originates in the jungle, is improved by contact with the desert belt and reaches his highest development north of it, away from jungle influence". "Palæolithithic men originated in the jungles or Dark zone, his intellectual faculties were awakened and developed by the deserts or zones of infection and was thus fitted progressively to take his place in the northern or White Man's zone". In this view "deserts are essential to the production of the civilised White man—factors outweighing all others in modi-

fyng human life". To the likely objection that there are no deserts in Europe—the great home of the White man,—the author's reply is that "Europe is really in close relationship with her desert Zone of North Africa as is California with the deserts of Arizona, Nevadah and Utah. The White man's domain of the Old World is, atmospherically, but the fringe of the desert belt." Our author thinks that the small area of the zones of disinfection in America is a matter for anxious reflection, and suggests the artificial creation of deserts which he would call 'Zones of disinfection' or 'biological laboratories', and the suggestion occurs to him that the gradual formation of a barrage across the Straits of Florida, which are relatively shallow, aided by the strong current in that region, will cause the sand to silt and eventually fill the Gulf, thereby transforming it into "a small Shahara". The author's views and suggestions are certainly thought-provoking.

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**The God of the Witches.** By Margaret Alice Murray. (Sampson Law, London) 9s. 6d.

This is a very interesting and suggestive book on Witchcraft. The theories put forward by the author deserve the careful attention of anthropologists. The evidence gathered in proof of the continuity of the worship of Horned gods from palæolithic times onwards [Egyptian horned god Amon and

the horned goddess Isis, the Minotaur of Crete, Bull Dionysos of Greece, the Horned god (Pas'upati) of Mahenjo-Daro, the Gaulish god called Cernunvios by the Romans and Herne the Hunter with horns in his head (old Hornie) of the English].

A mass of evidence is adduced to show that up till the end of the seventh century the old Religion of the Horned God still counted large numbers of members among professed Christians in Great Britain and the European continent.

Another very interesting theory put forward by the author which deserves careful investigation is that the fairies began as the Neolithic folk, and that the belief in fairies is not merely a reminiscence, handed down from generation to generation through the ages, of an under-sized prehistoric people, but that they are represented to this day by isolated communities of men, small in stature, skilful in hunting, possessed of magical powers and a disconcerting habit of appearing and disappearing, like the Kurumbas of the Nilgiri hills in South India living in their plaintain-leaf huts on the jungly slopes of the hills to which the avenues of approach are carefully concealed, and who are feared by their neighbours for their reputed magical powers but beat a hasty retreat at the approach of an outsider. Dr. Murray's reference to the *Mehtars* or sweeper caste of India in connection with the magical use of the broom and broomstick, and the suggested analogy of the burial of the dead of the sweeper-caste with the burial of a

witch, should also arouse special interest among Indian students. The book is full of interesting material and will be widely read by students of Anthropology.

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**Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa.** Edited by J. Schapera (London: George Routledge, 1934). pp. xiv + 312.

The twelve studies in culture contact contained in this book are very opportune and illuminating, and sure to prove eminently helpful to those responsible for directing the administrative policy of the South African colonies.

The Editor, Dr. Schapera, leads with a study of *The old Bantu Culture*, and another on *Present-day Life in the Native Reserves*, and is followed by Dr. W. M. Eiselen with an essay on *Christianity and the Religious Life of the Bantu*, Mr. W. G. A. Mears with one on *The Educated Native in Bantu communal Life*, Prof. G. P. Lestrade with one on *European Influences upon the Development of the Bantu Language and Literature*, Dr. P. R. Kirby with one on *The Effect of Western civilization on Bantu Music*, Dr. J. D. R. Jones with one on *Social and Economic Condition of the Urban Native*, Prof. W. H. Hunt with one on *The Economic Position of the Bantu in South Africa*, Dr. E. H. Brooks with one on *Native Administration in South Africa*

Prof. R. F. A. Hoernle with one on *Race-Mixture and Native Policy in South Africa* and Mr. D. D. T. Jabafu with one on *Bantu Grievances*. Plates, Maps, and a select bibliography are added.

In these well-thought-out essays we are presented with an account of the old Bantu culture side by side with an account of modern Bantu life, so as to bring out the changes that have come about in the Bantu's traditional culture as a result of contact with the Europeans, and examine his present position in the general social scheme of the country and the light in which he is regarded by the present European inhabitants of his country.

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**Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1933. Vol. VII.** (Leyden. E. J. Brill, Ltd.—1935). Rs 6/-

This is a very valuable annual publication which no serious student of Indian Archaeology, Numismatics, and History can afford to neglect. It is a conscientious record of advances made in our knowledge of Indian archaeology, numismatics and history, during the year, by investigations not only in India proper but also in Ceylon. Further India, Indonesia, and other adjoining territories which sometime or other had cultural connection with India. Besides introductory sections summarising the results of important archæological researches in India and the other countries named

above during the year under review, a bibliography of books and magazine-articles bearing on Indian Archaeology and Art (including Architecture and Sculpture, Painting, Iconography, Palaeography, Epigraphy, Chronology, Ancient History, Ancient Geography, and Numismatics) is supplied,

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### FOLK-LORE.

**Mandan and Hidatsa Tales.** (Third series). collected by Martha Warren Beckwith. (Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, 1934).

Thirteen out of the fourteen tales collected in this book relate to the wanderings of Coyote in the character of a trickster in search of a living; and the fifteenth story is the 'Geography of a War Party' told by a fine old Indian warrior called the "Crow's Heart" who was the scout of the war-parties on all the expeditions described in the story; and the sixteenth or last 'story' headed "A Mandan Winter Count" is an account of the pictured events in the years 1835-1870 recorded in the note-book of "Foolish Woman," the author having secured the explanation of the pictures from "Foolish Woman" herself. The picture language in Foolish Woman's Calendar is very interesting.

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**History.**

**The Cambridge Shorter History of India.** By J. Allan, Sir T. Wolsley Haig, and H. H. Dodwell. Edited by H. H. Dodwell. ( Cambridge University Press, 1934 ) 12s. 6d. *net*.

Teachers and students have long felt the need of a handy yet comprehensive and up-to-date textbook of Indian History, and the Syndics of the Cambridge University have now supplied it. Each of the three main periods of Indian History is dealt with in this volume by a well-known specialist. Mr. J. Allan treats of Hindu and Buddhist India, Sir Wolsley Haig of Muslim India, and Prof. H. H. Dodwell of British India. And, as a result of their collaboration, we now possess in this work of nearly one thousand pages the first one-volume authoritative and comprehensive history of India which provides a complete survey of Indian History from the Vedic period down to the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919.

This volume, though embodying the research represented in the published volumes of the Cambridge History of India is by no means a mere abridged edition of the various volumes of that larger work. The learned authors have considered the latest researches on the subject and exercised their own individual judgment in assessing the value and relative importance of extant researches on their subject. As many as twenty-one maps and an exhaustive Index enhance the great value of the work. If any improvement might be suggested, Indian students would wish that the



Hindu Period of India's History might have been assigned some more space than the two hundred pages allotted to it in this edition. However that may be, as a comprehensive and succinct up-to-date authoritative hand-book of Indian History, this volume so far stands unrivalled in the field, and no student of Indian History can well afford to miss it from his private library. The book will also form an useful addition to the libraries of our schools and colleges.

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**Ancient India and Indian Civilization.** By Paul Masson-Oursel, Helena Willman-Grabowska, and Philippe Stern. Translated from the French by M. R. Dobie. (Kegan Paul. 1934) 21 s. net.

This is another volume of the excellent *History of Civilization* series edited by Prof. C. K. Ogden. In the Foreword, headed 'The Indian Genius,' Dr. Henri Berr, begins by pointing out that "by the very reason of its strong individuality—not political but psychological—India, like China, is of the greatest interest in the history of mankind, which is the only real history". Referring to the usual observation that India has no history, properly so-called, Dr. Berr points out that this is true in the sense that "its past does not offer clearly distinct phases, such as our own antiquity and Middle Ages or the periods before and after Christ." "From the Aryan invasion to the coming of Islam, India is extra-

ordinarily continuous in time. In space, on the other hand,, it is extraordinarily discontinuous. Natural obstacles divide the country into regions which are unlike in climate, fauna, and flora, some being desert or mountainous and others luxuriantly fertile. Politically the country was broken up to an extraordinary extent, with a quantity of republics alongside of monarchies which were always on the point of collapsing. That, no doubt, is, from the objective point of view, the fundamental reason for saying that India has no history. Apart from irruptions and invasions—Indo-Europeans, Huns, Turko-Mongols—among the infinite multitude of facts of which the past of India is made up, few have been sufficiently large and outstanding to be events. Such figures as Asoka, one of the noblest in the the history of the world, Kanishka, Samudragupta, Siladitya stand out brilliantly against the neutral background of India's past." "In India, as everywhere else, there was development," and that is what appears in the cautious pages of Masson-Oursel. The very special and remarkable institution of caste did not exist from the beginning, and it had many causes (p. 81). It was created by a "development" (p. 82), in which the Brāhmins doubtless took a large part. "The immobility, the petrification found in India, is explained by the religious character and theoretic rigidity assumed by the social order. But it must not be supposed that the ideal of the system

quite represents the reality of things. Even the tendency to unify groups, so potent elsewhere, is to be found in India, in spite of all the influences to the contrary. At bottom, two conceptions of moral and political conduct are found in India, sometimes imposed and sometimes combined—*dharma* and *artha*, duty and interest, the rule and opportunism, a principle of stability and a principle of change" (pp. 101-3). Through literature and art—as, from another side through religions and philosophies,—one reaches the Indian soul, even in a depth in which action and inaction are explained." Masson-Oursel discerns "the principle of unity which makes the special genius of India." "The essential contribution of the Indian genius to mankind is a psychical element,—the sense of creative activity". Mme de Willman-Grabowska has described the literature of India in such a way as "to make one see, not only their technical perfection, but their underlying inspiration, their relation to the inner life". M. Stern has drawn "a picture of the development of the plastic art which reinforces her psychological evidence and confirms the suggestions of literature". "It was a mighty aesthetic effort, revealing an intense desire to live and to enjoy life—often ending in disillusionment and disgust".

In a few instances the critic may perhaps detect some inaccuracy or omission. Thus, in the chapter on population, one misses any reference to the negritic element believed by many ethnologists to be the probable

earliest stratum of Indian population. One also notices a harking back to the now-exploded Risleyan theory of the "predominance of Mongolian infiltration" in Bengal (p. 13). Nor does it appear to be accurate to say that "the Gonds are still in the Stone Age" (p. 17).

On the whole, however, the authors have made a fairly successful attempt at probing the inner life and thought of India; and this volume must be accorded a high place among books on Indian civilization and culture written by Western scholars.

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**Buddhist Remains in Andhra, and Andhra History, 225-610 A.D.** By K. R. Subramanian. (Madras, Diocesan Press, 1932). Rs 2- 8 as.

This is an important contribution to the archaeology and history of the Andhra-des'a from the 3rd to the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The book is divided into two parts. Part I. gives an illuminating account of the Buddhist remains in Andhra illustrated by a few Plates. In this part the life, works and times of Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva, "the king of Monks", are also discussed. Part II deals with the history of the Andhra country between 225 and 610 A. D. in the light of the author's researches. The author summarises his conclusions with regard to the main features of this history thus :—

"The bulk of the Āndhrades'a or the Telugu-speaking country of to-day has been a separate linguistic belt from very early times. The first independent

dynasty that ruled over almost the whole area was the Sātavāhanas who were masters also of some neighbouring kingdoms. After their decline (225 A.D.) there was a division of Andhra under two or more dynasties. Roughly, the present Nellore, Guntūr and Cuddapah districts were under the Pallavas during our period (225-610 A.D.) who had to fight hard against the Kadambas in the west and for some time with the Chōlas in the south. The Bṛihatphalāyanas ruled the present Krishṇā District for some time after 225 A.D. when the Ikshvākus spread their rule from beyond the Ghāṭs over the bulk of Andhra. The fall of the Ikshvākus was followed by the rapid rise of the Kadambas and the expansion of the Vākātakas who set mutual limits to their empires in Eastern Hyderabad. The expedition of Samudragupta in the middle of the Fourth Century A.D. found Andhra as well as Kalinga disorganised without a supreme potentate. By the end of the Third Century A.D., Ikshvāku rule in the Krishṇā and West Godāvarī districts was supplanted by that of the Śālaṅkāyanas whose tenure of power continued up to about 450 A.D. Then, the family of the Vishṇukundins, a protégé of the Vākātakas of the Central Provinces, superseded the Śālaṅkāyanas and ruled also over a little territory south of the Krishṇā for some time. Vākāṭaka-Vishṇukundin sway extended beyond the Godāvarī at the expense of the Kalinga kings even as far as Vizianagram. Subsequently the Gaṅgas of Kalinga stemmed the tide of Vishṇukundin invasion and

proved a thorn on the side of the Vishṇukūṇḍins north of the Godāvarī. About the beginning of the Seventh Century a new force had arisen in Karnāṭa, viz., the Chālukyas. The Chālukyan tempest blew over the whole of the Deccan, uprooting some and crippling other old dynasties. A branch of the Chālukyas came to be established in the Andhra country in the first decade of the Century and it flourished for four centuries till it was merged in the Chōla family".

The author has placed students of Indian history under his debt by throwing light on a hitherto obscure period of Andhra history.

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### Psychology, Philosophy, Ethics and Religion.

**A Hundred Years of Psychology, 1833-1933.**

*By J. C. Flugel. (Duckworth, 1933) 15 s. net.*

This is a historical study of the development of Psychology from the status of an underdog which it occupied a century ago to that of an independent and a very popular science which it occupies at the present day. Though the story begins with 1833 the author has traced all available earlier psychological material. The language of the book has perhaps too much of academic "chill" to be quite appreciated or always understood by the average layman. The summaries of the various schools of thought are not always lucid or adequate for the general reader. This has been so, obviously because the book is written not for the man in

the street but for the serious student who wants to study the subject in its developmental aspect; and for such students it will indeed be an invaluable guide. The bibliography and particularly the chronological table of the major events in the history of Modern Psychology, appended to the volume form an important and a very useful feature of the book. Prof. Flugel speaks of 40,000 separate books and articles on psychology that have been written by eminent scholars within recent years. But although the psychologists, between themselves, have produced a really considerable literature, all this has not yet been welded into one systematic whole, and thus the science may still be said to be in a somewhat chaotic condition; and, as the author observes, psychologists of one school do not often understand those of another. Let us hope that in the Psychology of the forties the fruits of the labours of workers and theorists of different schools will be harmonised into one connected whole.

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### **Hindu Mysticism according to the Upanishads.**

By Mahendra Nath Sircar. (Kegan Paul. 1934)

15 s. net.

In this book a distinguished Indian scholar lucidly, though succinctly, expounds in the light of intimate knowledge and deep study and appreciation the highest philosophic and spiritual thought of India as set forth in the *Upanishads*. The

*Upanishads*, as our author explains, "do not really give us any logical system, but rather intuitions and revelations received in the high flights of inspiration". The Upanishads affirm that "there is no such thing as 'mere man' or 'mere God' but that "man is essentially one with God in the heart of his being". (p.6) "The coarseness and grossness of the sheaths round the self do not allow its light to be fully reflected in us. Spiritual life is a life of power, elasticity, movement, and freedom; and, unless the psychic forces are keenly active in us, the potentialities of dynamic spiritual life cannot be fully realized. The psychic forces acquire strength, when their inward nature as ultimately cosmic forces is made clear. Every centre of existence can wake up his potential divinity in him by creating a harmony in himself. And this inner harmony ultimately reveals the greater harmony between the psychic and the and the cosmic forces. Man is installed in this way in his divine heritage of power, plenty, and and peace. The psychic centres become the transmitters of divine will. Wider realization in the plenitude of being is the natural result of the complete divinization of our being. The dynamic divine fills our beings when the little self is removed from the scene of activity. To die is to live, to forget is to know, to be emptied is to be filled. Such is the mystery of the spiritual life" (pp. 239-240). "Life is best enjoyed when there is a fall in the psychic dynamism, for it allows us to see and feel the dignity of silence. The cons-



tant agitation in our psychic being hides the truth from us, and the greatest sacrifice is called for to realize the highest truth. And this sacrifice is the sacrifice of the claims of "the little ego". "The human mind is so much engrossed with the actualities of life that it cannot habitually rise to this height and go beyond the delights of creativeness to welcome the delight supernal of silence. Moksha (salvation or highest bliss) implies release from the sense of relativity in all its forms,—ethical, spiritual, creative. It is, therefore, indicated by the negative term of release from bondage; but it is the presentation of the Absolute in its uniqueness, in its independence of all kinds of relativity". (p.325) "Spinoza's *scientia intuitiva* is a kind of cosmic intuition which presents the vision of God and his immanence. The love of God fills his being, which rises to the highest point of seeing God in all things and all things in God. Spinoza's intuition has in it an exquisite feeling, the feeling and the blessedness which follow the removal of the limitations in knowledge and being. But the Upanishads soar beyond. They are an immanent vision of the divine. This vision is cosmic, but not acosmic. The Upanishads emphasize the acosmic intuition, and where Spinoza has laid emphasis upon it no difference exists between the acosmic intuition and the transcendent intuition of the seers. Spirituality is high knowledge and not only fine feeling. In the last stage it dispenses with all relativities of ethics, knowledge,

and experience. It gives us the blessed freedom in the transcendent. Knowledge is here intuitive, delight supernal, and life free from subconscious, conscious, and superconscious ways. It is the silence permanently residing in the heart of being". (pp. 324-5) It this illuminative volume Dr. Sircar has ably outlined the path of spiritual emancipation which the Upanishads teach and which, in one word, is "to go deep within where, in life's silence, life's most and life's essence are found."

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**The Ideals of the East and West.** By Kenneth Saunders. (Cambridge, University Press, 1934) 10 s. 6. *net*.

In this book an account of the ethical ideals of India is followed by similar accounts of the ethical ideals of the Chinese, the Japanese, the Greeks, the Hebrews, and the Christian. The parallels and similarities as well as the contrasts which emerge from this comparative study are very interesting and instructive. The book is written in the light of intimate knowledge and with sympathy and appreciation born of such knowledge. The author has given some account of the context of each developing system as well as a brief anthology. He has rightly sought "to bring out not only the high peaks reached by each people but the lower levels through which they have

struggled, and at which the masses have often remained". He has drawn his materials not from their great classic teachers but from proverbial wisdom and songs. By choosing characteristic figures and ideals, the author has sought to bring out the central strand in the life the great peoples, for in the history of civilization "what matters most is the spiritual and moral core". By making a selection from the rich material at hand, Dr. Saunders has chosen "passages which reveal a conflict of ideals as well as those which may be said to resolve this conflict," and has attempted to suggest that "from the great age of the Bards with their intuitive guesses at truth and their half-formulated ideals of conduct there emerge the philosophical and religious Masters who become classic and formative for subsequent ages". Besides selections from these great seers, the author also cites proverbs and aphorisms in which the peoples embodied the impression which the teachers made upon them, and the ideals which have emerged at later periods from the impact of their lofty idealism upon the more pagan ideals of the masses. The weakness as well as the strength of of these peoples and their ideals, as the author sees them, are noted. The keynote of the book appears to be that the ideals which different peoples have evolved supplement one another. "The Greeks and Chinese have looked to Israel and to India for light complementary to their own. And India lost sight of the human in the quest for the divine. In mutual brotherhood bet-

ween different peoples, they will all see new light." "There are many paths to the mountain top, but one summit". All men are brothers. That is the ideal which shines afar off like the snowy mountain.

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**Vedantism or Lectures on the Vedanta.** By Dvijadas Datta. 1 s. 6 d. or Re 1/-

**Rigveda Unveiled.** By Dvijadas Datta. Rs 5/-

**Purasha Sukta.** (Supplement to *Rigveda Unveiled*). By Dvijadas Datta Re 1/-

**Sarva Dharma Samanvaya.** (in Bengali). By Dvijadas Datta. (Sarvadharm Samanvaya Asrama, Comilla, Bengal). Re 1/-

The object of these publications of the "Sarva-Dharma-Samanvaya Asrama" is to indicate the synthetic unity in the religions and ethical aims and ideals of all religions. The Rigveda, the earliest scripture, declares that all the different races of men are the "children of Manu" and therefore "sons of one family", and all should join in a chorus to sing "Come, Kingdom of our God." The Rishis of the Rig-Veda "were seeking a Unity rather than a polytheism"; "Caste-divisions have no place in the Rig-Veda and therefore can have no place in Hinduism; that Monism or 'unism' is as old as the Rig-Veda, that Vedantic 'Unism' represents God as perfect, but that the very notion of perfection seems to involve that

a perfect Being may at will subject Himself to imperfection. As a defence of God the dualistic hypothesis is useless". There are things in these books which are controversial, certain things that will not bear scientific criticism, and yet much that will act as correctives to the extremist views of certain orthodox theorists and dogmatists.

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**Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism during the Muslim Period.** By Sri Ram Sharma, (Lahore : Dayanand College Book Depôt).

This booklet of 21 pages has been issued as no. 2 of the D. A. V. College Historical Series. In it instances have been collected, mostly from the pages of Muhammadan annalists, of the reconversion of Hindus to their old religion after they had once accepted Islam during the Muhammadan period of Indian History, and also to cases of conversion of non-Hindus to the Hindu-fold. Reference is also made to the *Bhavishya Puraṇa* as recording instances of the reconversion of Hindu converts to Islam *en masse*. It would have added to value of the book if the author had also given an account of the ritual employed such in conversion and re-conversion.

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**Economics, Sociology, etc.,**

**Land Problems in India.** By Prof. Radha Kamal Mukerjee (Longmans, 1933) 9 s. net.

In these Readership Lectures delivered in the Calcutta University, by the talented Indian author land problems are dealt with as a part of economic history. An attempt has been made to trace the development of village settlement and communal distribution of lands in India; and the author formulates a scheme of agrarian reform involving the modification of the Zamindari system by making it approximate the share-tenancy of Italy and Japan, and granting permanence and heritability to all grades of tenants, and imposing drastic restrictions on sub-letting and sub-infeudation, mortgages and transfers of tenancies. Students of the history of land-holding in India, as well as publicists and statesmen interested in agrarian problems and agrarian reform in India will find the book very informative and suggestive.

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**A Short History of Kashmir.** By P. Gwasha Lal. (Published by the author, Srinagar, Kashmir 3rd edition, 1933). Rs 2.

In this book of 160 pages, the author gives in brief outline the political history of Kashmir from the earliest known times to the present. The author also appends a short account (in eighteen pages) of remains of archaeological interest in Kashmir. Though an estimate of the character of the Kashmiris is given, it is to be regretted that no account is given of the different castes and communities inhabiting the State and

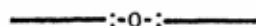
their social characteristics, economic habits and religious customs and beliefs. It may be expected that in the next edition suitable space will be devoted to an account of the ethnology of the people.

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**Adarsha Sadhu : An Ideal Monk.** By A. J. Sunavala (Cambridge : University Press, 1934) 5s.

This inspiring biography of a great Jain *Sādhu* of our times is a revised and much enlarged edition of a book entitled "Vijaya Dharma Suri : His Life and Work" published in 1922 and reviewed the same year in the March-June number of this journal in highly appreciative terms. The author has shown in his vivid account how the old ideal of the Monk was realized in the life of this great and learned but unassuming *Sādhu*. Dr. Sylvain Lévi who saw the Suri in his death-bed "clear and bright of mind as on the happiest day", "with a friendly smile on his lips and in his eyes", in his Foreward to the book, testifies to the "Muni's sweet nature," and says that the images Mr. Sunavala has drawn "retains the attractive features of the original", and that it was owing to the Suri who for the first time in our days "took Jainism again into the general stream of of human thought," "a new era opens in the of life the Jain creed," so that "Jainism is attracting more and more attention, more and more sympathy" in the West. Dr. F. W. Thomas, too

in a Prefatory Note, testifies to the "singular force of character, and sincerity of conviction, the dignified, unaffected mildness and friendliness, which characterized the saint, his open-mindedness and wideness of out-look" and says that the qualities of such representative leaders such as Vijaya Dharma Suri will contribute to a further expansion of the community," and that "he has come to be regarded as the true mediator between Jain thought and the West".





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## Y O G A

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# MAN IN INDIA

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No. 4.

## I. ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES ON SOME OF THE CASTES OF WEST BENGAL.

By

BHUPENDRANATH DATTA, A.M., Dr. PHIL.

The lower Gangetic valley, nowadays known as the province of Bengal, has seen many vicissitudes in her history. How old is that history no one can tell, the flat alluvial nature of the country delivers us no antique ruins or remains of a bygone civilization. The stone-age celts pointing to a stone-age period of Indian history are to be discovered on the boundaries of this alluvial plain. Though as yet traces of a past civilization have not been traced in Bengal and her neighbourhood, yet we are sure that the country and her people existed at the time of the Vedas. It is said, the Veda speaks of Bengal.

### *Vedic Period.*

It is said that the Veda is supposed to have mentioned Bengal as a country of the birds (*va-yānsi*) along with Magadha (*Aitareya Aranyaka* II. 1, 1, 5). Here, the people of eastern India is supposed to have been contemptuously spoken of as

"birds". But we see that inspite of the opprobrious term, the name Vanga is clearly mentioned in this *Aranyaka* part of the Vedas as *Vāṅāvagadhāh* (*Aitareya Aranyaka* ii I. I), i.e., Bengal and Magadha. Again in the still earlier age of the Brāhmaṇas, the *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII.6) speaks of the *Pundrā* country. Further, the *Rigveda* speaks of the land of *Kikaṭa* (R.V. 353, 14) whose prince was one *Pramagandha*, against whom *Visvāmitra* sought the protection of the god *Indra*.

### Post-Vedic-period.

But, the post-Vedic annotator *Yaska* in his *Nirukta* (VI. 32.) says, *Kikaṭā nāma deśo 'nāryanivāsaḥ*. (*Kikaṭa* country is the land of the *anāryas*). Later, Indian annotators identified it with *Magadha*<sup>1</sup>; *Zimmer* says that the *Kikaṭas* were a non-Āryan people living in the country latterly known as *Magadha*; but *Weber*<sup>2</sup> holds that they were Āryans though at variance with the other Āryans, perhaps on account of their heretical tendencies, as latterly *Magadha* was a seat of *Buddhism*. But the identification of *Kikaṭa* with *Magadha* is held to be uncertain<sup>3</sup>.

Though we cannot trace the name *Bengal* in connection with *Kikaṭa*, yet, the above-mentioned Vedic slokas clearly hint at places nowadays comprised in *Bengal*. At a comparatively modern

<sup>1</sup> *Bhagad Pur.* 1, 3; 24; 7; 10, 18; *Trik. Sesha* 2, 11, *Hemac.* 4; 26; *Vedic Index* vol. I. p. 159; *Zimmer Alt indisches Leben*. "p 31; *Lassen—Alther.* 2, 16 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Weber*—"Indische Studien" I P 186; "*Indian Literature*" 7. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Vedic Index*—vol. I. P 159.

date, the poet Kalidāsa, while describing the conquests of the traditional King Raghu of the Ikṣvaku dynasty, mentioned Bengal as one of the countries conquered by him. But modern critics think that the panegyric fits the conquest of one of the Gupta emperors<sup>4</sup>.

In the post-Vedic age (*circa* 600—300 B.C.) when Buddha was preaching in Magadha, we hear of his rival Mahābīr Vardhamāna preaching his religion amongst the people of Rāṣṭ (West Bengal). We hear that in the forest land of Rāṣṭ a people called as *chūārḥs* were living. There were no roads and the people used to set their dogs at him ! Here we find the name of a people called *chūārḥs* which in modern Bengalee would mean a rude rustic ! We have no information regarding the ethnic relations of the people ; but the inscriptions<sup>5</sup> of the Pala and Sena rājās of Bengal mention the *chata vata* people as undesirables whose entry in villages was interdicted. Whether these were a nomadic or a gypsy-like people whose forbears would have been the *chūārḥs*, no one can surmise.

In this post-vedic age (*circa* 600-300 B.C.), Baudhayana prescribed penances (I. i, 32, 33) for Vedic Brāhmaṇs who visited Pundrā, Vāṅga and other lands. Thus it is clear that eastern India

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<sup>4</sup> Vide B. K. Sarkar's theory, who takes it to be the conquest of Samudra Gupta, and Jayaswal who takes it to be of Chandra Gupta II.

<sup>5</sup> Vide "*Gaura Lekhamala*" in Bengalee.

was deemed heretical by the orthodox Brāhmaṇs from the days of the Vedas.

Again, in the fourth century B.C. during the invasion of Alexander, the Greek writers mentioned the name of a powerful nation—the *Gangaridae*. The same people are again located in Ptolemy's Geography. The Greek writers have stated that it lay in the East—in the land of the Prasii. According to some, the name means the Rāṇḍi people dwelling on the banks of the Ganges. Surely Bengal on the western banks of Ganges is still known as Rāṇḍ country i.e. West-Bengal is Rāṇḍi land. Bengalee patriotism prefers to identify the *Gangaridae* with the Bengalees. According to it, the map of Ptolemy clearly locates the capital of the people in central Bengal<sup>6</sup>.

But these speculations do not bring us any where near the anthropology of ancient Bengal. We hear that Bengal (Vanga) along with Kīkaṭa or Magadha has always been denounced in the Brāhmaṇical books as the land to be avoided by the Brāhmaṇs. They denounced the provinces of the eastern part of India, as these were inhabited by the Buddhists, hence they detested this portion of the country. Is this the reason for which Yaska called Kīkaṭa as the land of the Anāryas? Weber thinks so. This discussion throws an important light on the word "Ārya," as in Yaska only for the first time we come across the word

<sup>6</sup> Vide Prof. Anil K. Sarkar's article in Benglee Magazine "*Pradip*" 1934 in which he locates it in the Ranaghat subdivision of the Nadia district.

“Anārya”. Sanskrit literature nowhere mentioned the word “Ārya” to have a racial meaning. It always had a cultural meaning. The Brāhmaṇs called their tenets, manners and ceremonies as “Āryan,” while the Buddhist on the contrary called their religion as the “Āryan path”. That the word “Ārya” did not have any racial meaning attached to it, is to be clearly seen in the Vedas where the *Dasyus* were denounced as “a-karman”—riteless (X. 238), “a-devayu”—indifferent to the gods (viii 7. iii), “a-brāhmaṇ”—without devotion (iv. 16, 9); “a-vrata”—lawless (i. 51, 8). “The great difference between the *Dasyus* and the Āryans,—was their religion”<sup>7</sup> say the Indologists Keith, and Macdonell. Hence it is no wonder that Magadha and Bengal, the people of which did not take kindly to Vedic sacrificial tenets should be denounced by the Brāhmaṇs as the land of the anāryas ! Surely this meaning had nothing, in common with the meaning advanced by the Pan-Germanists<sup>8</sup>. In

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<sup>7</sup> *Vedic Index*—vol. I pp 347-349.

<sup>8</sup> The trouble in India is that the word “Aryan” and “non-Aryan” are nowadays used in the modern European sense. Surely the ancient Sanskrit writers did not attach to it the same racial significance as the European savants do ; surely the Sanskrit word “anarya” is not the same as the English, “Non-aryan,” German “Nicht-ariet” and French “Non-aryen” ! The word “Arya” has passed in European literature as a political hibboleth and, long ago, it has entered the phase of political controversy ( Vide Ripley’s “Aryan controversy” in “*The Races of Europe* ”).

If is in the Vedas the *Dasyus* were called as *Mrdhra-vach* ( Rv. V. 29, 10) the Aryan Purus (vii.18, 13) and the Panis (vii, 6, 3 ) and other hostile communities (i. 174, 2 iv. 32, 8 ; x. 23, 5) had the same

this connection we must not forget the anathema pronounced in the Mahabharata on the peoples of Sindh and the Panjab, and those countries were said to be not fit for the Brahmans to live in<sup>9</sup>. Thus even the cradle of the Vedic tribes did not escape the slur put on them by the Brahmanists !

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epithets applied to them ! The word "a-nas" (Rv. V. 29. 10.) may not mean noseless ! The Vedic Index says "the sense of this word is not absolutely certain ; the Pada text and Sayana both take it to mean "without face" (an-as). Thus there is a great doubt whether it would signify the chamoerrhinic type of nose-as understood by the Indologists as the same book says "the rendering nose-less (anas) is quite possible and would accord well with the flat-nosed aborigines of the Dravidian type" (vol. I pp 347—349). But lately we are hearing that the race formerly called Dravidian is nothing but a Mediterranean (vide *Indian Census Report* 1931, and von Eickstedt "*Rassenkunde und Rassengechichte*")—one who has got good form of nose ! Again, we are hearing from R. P. Chanda that "Physically the Indo-aryans of the north may be related to the Dravidians of the South" ( "Aryan, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian" in "Science and culture" vol. I No. I p. 20). But long ago we heard from the Sarasin cousins that the Aryans developed out of the Dravido-Australian tribe, and that the pre-Dravidian Veddahs are the ancestral type of the whole cymotrichi peoples (Vide Sarasins—" *Ergebnisse Naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon* "). Thus we see *Anaryas* cannot be the Dravidians, or by any jugglery of words they cannot be made to mean the south Indian Pre-Dravidians !

<sup>9</sup> Vide *Mahabharata* "Karna paraa". The Vratyas of the ancient Sanskrit texts may not have been the "Non-Aryans" of the European scholars. According to Zimmer they were Aryans who did not surrender themselves to Brahmanical polity ( *Alt indisches Leben* p. 216). The Vratya Kshatriyas of the Vajjian confederacy could not have been non-Aryans in the European's sense. Buddha admired their features. Later, Manu said, "Those (sons) whom the twice-born beget on wives of equal caste, but who not fulfilling their sacred duties are excluded from the Savitri ( initiation ), one must designate

### ***Maurya Period.***

But Bengal clearly emerges in history in the period of the Maurya empire. During the recent excavations at Pahārpur in north Bengal, relics signifying Maurya domination has been discovered. Along with it, proof of a non-brahmanical Vratya-Kshatriya ruling oligarchy like the Licchavis has been found out<sup>10</sup>. If

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by the appellation Vratyas" (Buhler's translation ch 20-pp.405-406) Thus it is clear that those who did not accept Brahmanical polity and ceremonies were called Vratyas. It is no wonder that the Licchavis of north-Bihar and the Samvangias of north-Bengal by not accepting Brahmanical polity and cult were denounced as *Anaryas* by the Orthodox Brahmanical priests. This gives further clue why Magadha and Bengal became the centre of Buddhism, Jainism and other heretical creeds, and only four hundred years ago, we heard of the great reformist movement of Chaitanya sweeping over Hindu Bengal, and today the majority of the Hindus of Bengal are disciples of Chaitanya and not that of the Brahmins of the Vedic school! The *Vratya-stoma* ceremony may not have been used to convert the non-Aryan "Vratyas" into Aryans. It may have been used to bring those recalcitrant Aryans who looked with disfavour the priestcraft and ceremonialism of the Vedic priests into orthodox Brahmanical fold. The Vratyas were very strong in the Panjab from very ancient times. Zimmer says, "almost all the tribes that dwelt on the east of Saraswati were Vratyas" (p. 216). And we do not forget that if the latter day Brahmins denounced Magadha and Bengal, a visit to which country would require a *Prayaschitta*, the same sort of contempt was expressed in the Mahabharata against the Panjab, the land of the Vedic Aryan priests. So instead of bringing the Vratyas of eastern India into the Aryan fold, the priests of the Vedic school should have been busy in their home land first if by "Vratya" Non-Aryan in the European sense is understood. And if the vast masses of tribes of the Panjab were "Vratya—Non-aryans" then where-from did the Aryan Brahmins spring up?

<sup>10</sup> Vide K. P. Jayaswal's Presidential Address at the *Indian Oriental Conference* held at Baroda.



this interpretation be correct, then, we find a non-brāhmanical Kshatriya republican oligarchy ruling in north-Bengal in the third century B.C. Here, the name of Samvangias seems to be connected with the name of Vanga. From the Maurya period downward we have got continuity of the history of Bengal.

The annals embodied in the Māhabhārata say that a Kshatriya rājā had three sons one of whose name was Vanga, and the same annal says that Vanga was a part of the Aila empire. According to Pargiter the Ailas were "Aryans" and he further says, "Tradition speaks of the earliest Aila kings actually opposing Brāhmaṇs"<sup>11</sup>. Thus if these traditions contain any truth then it would seem that from the name of a hero eponymn of a clan or a tribe, the country of Bengal has got its name. And if Pargiter's surmise and the tradition which he cites from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas (the atrocities of the Aila Pururavas and Nahusa on the Brāhmaṇs), be correct, then it would be no wonder that we should find Bengal to be anathematized by the Brāhmaṇ priests as the land of the Vrātyas!

Thus, if the name of Vanga be anchored on a safe footing, the name of the western part of the country yet remains unexplained. We have heard of the *Gangaridae* from the Greek accounts, but that does not give us any clue to the origin of the name *Rarh*.

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<sup>11</sup> Pargiter—"Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" pp 305-306.

Sometime ago a writer in the Bengalee magazine "Prabāsī" explained the name of *Rār̥h* and *Vanga* to be Santālic in origin. He maintains that by *Rār̥h* the Santāls understand "upland" and by "*Vanga*" "lowland". Hence he surmises that the historic names of the two parts of the country are derived from the Santāls. Taking this cue, I interrogated some Santāls of the Santāl Parganas, and the answer that was elicited from them was, that by *Rār̥h* they understand an "upland" and the district of Dumka is called by them as the *Rār̥h* country, while, Bengal is called by them as *Bela* country. The answer to the first part of my query agrees with that of the writer of the "Prabāsī", but the latter part disagrees with him. *Bela* is a Sanskrit word, the sea-coast place is called *Belābhūmi* in Sanskrit. Does the Santālic name *Bela* arise out of the fact that Bengal is a sea-coast country?

But this does not satisfy our query why the whole of west-Bengal should be called as *Rār̥h* country. Western Bengal cannot be called as the continuation of the Chōṭā Nāgpur plateau. Some parts of Burdwan and Bankura may be so, but as one proceeds eastward towards the Ganges coast he finds the country to be a flat alluvial plain. The name *Rār̥h*, strictly speaking, is nowadays applied to the interior portions of Burdwan and Bankura districts. If the western portion of the lower Gangetic valley be called *Rār̥h* in historical period, will it bear testimony to its prehistoric connec-

tion with the tribes of the plateau of Chōṭā Nāgpur? Naturally the question will arise who were the Chuārḥs spoken of in the Jaina annals? This word has got an unpleasant meaning attached to it. Similarly it seems to be the case with the word Rārḥ in Hindi.\* Do the meanings attached to these words signify the character of these peoples who dwelt in this part of the country in ancient times? The origins of these words and their connotations are worth enquiry.

### ***The Ancient Peoples.***

Further, we are told that the district of Burdwan took its name from the Jaina preacher Mahavir Vardhamāna who, as said before, preached there amongst the Chuārḥs in the time of Buddha. It is also said that Buddha never visited this part of India, though some latter day annals asserted to the contrary.

Whatever be the ethnic connections of the Chuārḥs and the Gangaridae we find on the borders of Bengal and Chōṭā Nāgpur several castes who are outside the pale of Hinduism or in the lowest rank of it, and betray some somatic characteristics in common with the Santals<sup>12</sup>. But these castes speak the Bengalee language and are classed as Bengalees, though Raghunandan's social polity is not followed by them. Of

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\* The word Rārḥ is used in ancient Hindi as well as in modern colloquial Hindi. *Vide* "Alaudal" songs.

<sup>12</sup> *Vide* the present writer's article "Anthropological Notes on some West-Bengal castes" in *Man in India*. Vol. XIV, Nos. 3&4.

course, the Santals refuse to call themselves Hindus. But these castes are called Hindus.

### ***Bengalee Language.***

In connection with the origin of the peoples of Bengal, the language question necessarily arises. We do not know the language of the Chauhans and the Gangaridae. But the philologists say that the Bengalee language is connected with the Magadhi dialect and the connected dialects of eastern India. The older Pandits of Bengal used to call it as "Vanga Prakrit". Recently Dr. S. K. Chatterjie<sup>13</sup> speaks of some Dravidian affinities with Bengalee phonetics which are to be found with other Neo-Indo-aryan languages as well. Whatever may be the morphology of the language, it is nowadays classed as a Sanskrit language.

### ***Aryanization of the Country.***

The language question brings us to the question of culture. When did the aryanization of Bengal in language and culture take place? According to Grierson the Bengalee language has got several *patois*. And he places one of them in West-Bengal. The so-called depressed classes of Manbhum, Bankura *etc.* speak one of these dialects. The differences of *patois* will according to the philologists signify underlying racial differences. Thus we are driven to physical anthropology to find a solution to this query.

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<sup>13</sup> S. K. Chatterjie—"The Origin and Development of the Bengalee Language", p. 14.

In the border land of Bengal and Chōṭā Nāgpur, we find a people calling themselves Bhumij who in Bankura, Manbhum and Singhbhum speak Bengalee. The word Bhumij means indigenous, and these people are to be found in Ōṛissā and in Chōṭā Nāgpur as well. But in the above-mentioned districts they speak Bengalee. Naturally the question arises when did these people take to the Bengalee language? In the table-land of Central India extending down to Berar, a small-statured dark-complexioned people have their habitat, who seem to have got different languages according to localities. Thus, some short-statured dark-skinned and flat-nosed persons hailing from the Singhbhum district (nowadays in the Province of Bihār) when interrogated, informed me that they spoke Bengalee and were Bhumij by caste! It seems that a dark and short type of man with flat-nose is to be found also amongst the Brāhmins, Rājputs and Mahrāṭṭa castes of Berar also.\* It seems this type has infiltrated into various strata of the Hindu society. It is a fit subject of enquiry whether the diminutive type to be found in the western border lands of Bengal have got any racial connection with the small-statured peoples living south of Vindhya range.

The hinter land of West Bengal is an interesting place of study for the anthropologists and the ethnologists. One can see even with naked eyes the gradations of physical characteristics that

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\*My personal observation amongst my friends of this part of the country.

are to be found from the Varna-Brahmans (Brahmans of the depressed classes) to the much vaunting exclusive Santals! Aryanization, i.e. Hinduization is still slowly and unconsciously going on in those parts.

Many surmise that the ancient Magadha peoples moved down into Bengal, thus linking Bengal<sup>14</sup> with the upper Gangetic land. Perhaps the migration began at a still earlier date. Some of the biotypes that are to be found in Bengal have got common physical characteristics with some biotypes of northern India. Stories of migrations of persons of various castes from different parts of India in historical times are still extant in Bengal, though there are no traces in the Bengalee language indicating a wholesale racial migration from outside.

### ***Migrations from Outside.***

Yet the migrations of different groups of peoples from outside in a comparatively recent period, is fresh in the traditions of West-Bengal. We do not know when the Bhumij, the Bhuiyās, and other such groups migrated to West Bengal. If the Santāls who still stick to their own language and polity have migrated in the historic period and is still spreading all over the country as field-labourers,\* we cannot find any traditions when the above-mentioned castes entered this part of the country. Perhaps they did not migrate at all, it

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<sup>14</sup> Vide Sarat Ch. Das "*Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*".

\* The Santals are settling in the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly and hire themselves out as field-labourers to the local peasantry.

may be they were autochthonous in this part. It may be that Bengal herself has extended in these hinter lands i.e. the Bengalee-speaking Hindus have settled there and have Bengalicised these people. The traditions of the upper caste Hindus say that they were settled in Bankura by the grants of the Vishnupur Rājās. The infiltration of Bengalee traders and the Brāhman is still continuing even to the Santāl Parganas. But political conditions are making them impotent to Bengalicize any further the so-called aboriginals, though the Brāhman and the Vaishnav bābājis are recruiting their disciples amongst them. Again, in the eighteenth century, a group of people called *Lāyak* invaded Bankura and Birbhum side from the upland of Chōṭā Nāgpur and have settled in the country<sup>15</sup>. Their raid is still remembered as *Lāykali-hangāmā*.

### ***Transformations of Castes.***

This attempt of Hinduization brings us to the question of caste. In Bankura there are some castes that are not to be found elsewhere. The Bagdis are mostly confined to Burdwan and Hoogly side. The Bauris in still western hinterland; the Korās, the Bhūmij, the Bhuiyās, and the Mallas are local castes of Bankura; the Sāmantas or Ugra-Kshatriyas are confined to Bankura and Burdwan, while the Lāyaks are to be found as far as Midnapur. It seems, these castes according to their grade of Hinduization and socio-economic status, arrogate to themselves some upper *Varṇa* designation of ancient Indian tradi-

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<sup>15</sup> Vide Hunter—"Annals of Rural Bengal".

tions. Thus the Kōrās who are a depressed class and according to their tradition, originally came from Chōṭā Nāgpur are calling themselves as *Mudi* (grocer), thus identifying themselves with the ancient Vaishya Varṇa. The Bhuiyās call themselves as superior to the Bhūmij, and in the Santal Parganas they call themselves as Kshatriyas of ancient days. The local caste of *Malla* call itself Kshatriya and claims caste kinship with the Malla Rājās of Vishnupur. Risley called this family and the Pachet Raj family as pseudo-Rajputs. But the Rajput settlers who call themselves as Chhatris and their landed gentry is called as 'baboo,' claim Rajputana and north-Indian affinities. I could not unravel the distinction between the two groups. The subjects I examined called themselves as "Chhatris" and one of them was of north-Indian parentage, but has been Bengalicised and has intermarried with the Bengalee Chhatris. It may be probable that the one is a local evolution and the other originated from migration from outside which is still continuing. In this connection I should mention the Chhatris or Rajputs are the proud landed gentry ; while I have seen a Malla wearing the sacred thread, working as a servant in the house of a Brāhmaṇ. The Santāls are calling themselves as 'Majhi' and in Burdwan a Santali woman was scandalized on being called a "Santāl". She indignantly corrected me by saying that she was a "Majhi" ! Similarly a section of the Santāls who came from Bihar side call themselves as "Deshwali Majhis". They spoke in chaste Ben-



galee with me and being under the influence of a Hindu guru wear *gerua* clothes (dress of a Hindu Sādhu). They have no idea that they have got affinity with the Santals, at least they did not admit it to me! In the same way the Kaivartas who in ancient times were called as *Kevatta* in Prākṛit language, have changed their name within the living memory of man to Mahishya (a caste nomenclature of Manu) and nowadays some of them are claiming ancient Kshatriya lineage.

Again, I have met with persons in Midnapur and in Hoogly, individuals who are called as *Buno Bāgdis*. The tradition is that they were the descendants of Santal labourers, but they are completely Bengalicised in speech and manner.

Thus it is evident that the more a caste gives up its totemistic and tribal cult and take more to Brahmanical habits and rites, the more it gets elevated towards higher status and gets a better caste name. Finally with economic uplift and advancement in civilization it gets a Varṇa-Brahman for its priest, and with further economic advancement arrogates to itself one of the higher strata of the traditional social hierarchy. Thus it is no wonder that if some of the old militia men of the Vishnupur Rāj are calling themselves as Kshatriyas, thus forming a functional caste (the Bhuiyās of the Santal Parganas and elsewhere are claiming descent from ancient "Lunar" and "Solar" dynasties, the Mallas of Bankura call themselves Kshatriyas). A group of people who worked for the

same rājā by extracting iron from the ores, have formed themselves into a caste, and designate themselves as the Lohar caste. It is a trade or occupational caste, perhaps it was evolved out of a common craft. Then, what shall we say of the Bhumij, the Korā, the Lāyaks *etc.*? Do they form tribal castes? According to Risley's hypothesis it seems so.

### ***Physical Characteristics.***

As the status of a caste is determined by economic position and the force of class-conflict, the origin of any given group of people is to be determined by the test of physical anthropology. For this reason, by referring to the physical data of the subjects of the castes dealt in my paper on "Anthropological Notes on some West-Bengal Castes" it is to be seen that the subjects examined show the following characteristics: (1) The Santāls and the depressed classes\* have more or less uniform characteristics in their eyes and hair-colour, only a few have the wavy variety of black hair; (2) They are the darkest in complexion amongst the West-Bengal groups; (3) On the average they are dolichoids though there are brachycephals amongst them; (4) The lower castes show a tendency towards mesorrhiny, but leptorrhiny is present in goodly number and chamoerrhiny is present

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\* This nomenclature has got nothing to do with the governmental one. The castes of the lowest strata of the society have been designated by me as such, for the sake of convenience; *vide* my article mentioned above.

among some aboriginal tribes ; (5) The depressed castes stand nearer to the Santāls than to the good castes in respect of their skin, hair- and eye-colour characteristics ; wavy hair is to be found only among them, and a lighter shade of eye-colour is conspicuous by its absence amongst them. Again, the minimum size of stature is to be found amongst the Santāl group examined by me. (6) As regards the good or upper castes they are not homogeneous amongst themselves, but comparative lightness of skin-colour, and eye-colour, higher stature and greater percentage of leptorrhiny are to be met with amongst them. By taking the average of all the castes mentioned in my above-mentioned article, the people of West-Bengal seem to be *mesocephal-mesorrhins*. Finally, there are somatic characteristics which are common to all the groups.

### Social Order.

The present day Hindu culture and social polity is established by making the old Buddhist order of Bengal society topsy-turvy as shown by the late Pandit Haraprasad S'āstri in his various writings. It seems that there had been a great class-conflict\* in the form of religious conflict from 1000 A.D. down to the period of Chaitanya and Raghunandan ; and by the force of this conflict old respectable castes have gone down and new castes have come to the top. The Bengalee epic

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\* The sociologists say that in ancient and middle ages class-conflicts took the form of religious conflicts. *Vide* Max Baer and Graham Wallas.

"Dharma-Mangal" clearly shows that some of the untouchable castes such as the Chāṇḍāls and Dōms were soldiers, military officers and higher functionaries during the Pāla period of Bengali history. \*. After passing through various social cataclysms the present social order was evolved. The sociological history of Bengal should be enquired into.

In order to reconstruct the history of Bengal, not only the political history, but the sociology and the ethnology of the backward tribes and castes must be made the objects of enquiry.

### ***Ethnological Notes.***

During my field work in West-Bengal ethnological data about of some of the Castes have been gathered by me. And in this paper I beg to submit them for the perusal of the readers of "*Man in India*."

## **ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES ON SOME OF THE CASTES OF WEST-BENGAL.**

### **Santals :—**

The Santāls are known as a pure aboriginal people who speak a non-Āryan language. The home-land of the Santāls is the Santāl Parganās from where the Santāls of West Bengal have migrated. The Santāls mentioned in this paper are from the District in Bankura of West Bengal ;

\* According to the newly discovered *Arya-Mangusri-Mulakalpa* the Pala kings were themselves of low Sudra order ( *Dasajivina* ). Vide Jayaswal's translation of the same—"An Imperial History of India", sloka 883.

they do not intermarry with the Santāls of the Santal Parganas. But the Santāls of West-Bengal cannot be said to be homogeneous in racial composition. In this part of Bengal they are bilinguals. They speak their own language among themselves, and speak Bengalee with their Bengalee neighbours. They keep strictly to themselves and never mix with their Hindu neighbours. Race-pride is strong amongst them, and they boast of purity of their blood. The Santāls of the Jhārgām subdivision of Midnapur district who have become Christians for a few generations, have left their Santāl caste-marks and are taking the patronymic of "Kūrmī". Perhaps it is an attempt to claim an origin of higher social status!

They never call themselves as Hindus, yet nowadays they are imitating their Bengalee-Hindu neighbours. Like the orthodox Hindus they are keeping tufts of hair on the central part of their occiput. They are nowadays wearing mill-made clothes, though homespun rough clothes are still in use amongst them; and their women folk are wearing ornaments like those of the Bengalee women. Their headmen are called "Layā" (NĀYAK) who are their village elders, and who act as priests at marriages. The bridegroom ties some cotton thread round his wrist (in imitation of Hindu custom) and the marriage ceremony is performed in the day-time at the house of the bridegroom, where the bride's party repair for the ceremony. This ceremony is performed under a *moul* (*bassia latifolia*) tree, and the marriage ceremony is

performed by chanting the name of "Hari". The *gotras* of the Santals of this area are Pankal, Sol and betelnuts. Those who have these *gotras* i. e., those who claim their descent from these things, abstain from eating them.

The Santals are a healthy and robust people, and unlike their Hindu neighbours are strong and virile.

### **Bauris :—**

The Bauris are a so-called depressed caste of the Districts of Bankura and Burdwan. They are outside the pale of Hindu society, though they call themselves as Hindus. The members of good Hindu castes do not touch water carried by them, hence they are 'untouchables'. Being hopelessly poor and uncultivated people, they speak a corrupt form of Bengalee. Their features and status betray them to be Hinduised aboriginals.

The Bauris are divided into four divisions: Malla-Bauris, Dhula-Bauris, Sekhoria-Bauris, Mana-Bauris. That is, they are divided into four phratries. These are named after the districts in which they live. Thus, the Bauris of Mallabhum are called as Malla-Bauris, those of Dhalbhum as Dhulo-, those of Sekharbhum as Sekhoria-, those of Manbhum as Mana-Bauris. In old days the land known as the present districts of Bankura and Manbhum (recently incorporated in the province of Bihar) were divided into small districts known as Mallabhum, Sekharbhum *etc.* Hence by living in those lands the Bauris have divided themselves into mutually

exclusive societies. Each of these phratries is an endogamous group.

The Bauris worship "Dharma-Ṭhākur." They worship this deity under a tree where they deposit clay models of horses as offerings. The religious ceremony is performed by their priest called *Paramānick* who is one of the elders of their caste, and is appointed by their local *Rājā* or landlord. The marriage ceremony consists only in tying a cotton thread on the wrist. No priest and no *mantras* are required for it. But nowadays they are imitating the customs of the upper class Hindus. In connection with the marriage ceremony, the Bauri girls go to the house of a Brāhmaṇ singing, in order to fetch water, and this water is sprinkled on the bodies of the marrying couple. The bridegroom puts on a pagoda-fashioned crown ("ṭōpar" of the Hindu upper classes) called by them as *Mōṛ* and an umbrella is spread over his head when he goes to marry in the bride's parents' house. The date of marriage is fixed according to the Hindu calendar. The folk-dances of the Bauris are different from that of the Santāls. Three sorts of dances are in vogue amongst them, which they in their corrupt Bengalee pronounce as *Teri-lāch*, *Kaṭi*—or *Khadi-lāch*, and *lāchli-lāch*. These mean that while dancing the first kind, the dancers lean on each other; while dancing the second kind, the dancers take two pieces of sticks on both hands and play on them; while the last kind is the regular *bayadère* dance that is in vogue

all over India. Some of the Bāuri women act as professional *danseuse* in the district of Bankura.

One of the *gotras* of the Bāuris is "Kashya bog" (striped heron) and the other I presume is dog, because one gets heavily punished if he strikes the dog, and they abstain from eating its flesh. They eat chickens; and in many cases, they eat the beef of dead cows. But their society is not countenancing this system any longer.

It seems, the abovementioned bird and dog are their totems.

It seems to me, that the religion of the Bāuris has got something to do with some debased form of Buddhism, as they are the worshippers of the *Dharma* cult, and it is said that their social system reminds people of the Buddhist *Sangha* organization.

### **Kheria :—**

The Kheriās live on the hills of the old land of Barāha-bhumi now a part (present Rani-bandh police station) of the district of Bankura. The following information about the Kheriās has been elicited from the Police Officer in charge of the Station Khatra, District Bankura. The Kheriās eat raw flesh (?). Mal-odour that comes out of their body is terrible. They used to live naked before. They live on the roots and tubers dug out in the jungles. Their *gotra* is lamb. They are carriers by profession and they carry on their shoulders conveyances known as palanquins; but they won't carry it, if any piece of lamb's



wool is found in it. They don't eat mutton. The language peculiar to themselves, is unintelligible to a Santāl and a Bengalee. Philologists class it as belonging to the Kolarian group of languages. They wear homespun clothes. The police report is, that if the Kheriās steal, they will steal clothes, rice and stalk of rice from the field. From the nature of the police information it is evident, that they are outside the pale of Hindu society.

### **Bhumij :—**

The Bhumij are a depressed caste. The word "*Bhumij*" means indigenous. By their features and their status in the Hindu society, it is evident that they are an aboriginal people, now being Hinduised. They are to be found in the mountainous tracts of land which adjoins the hinterlands of West Bengal, Chōṭā-Nāgpur and Ōṛissā. The Bhumij of Bankura formerly had been the ghāṭwāls of the Rājā of Vishnupur; that is to say they used to serve as his militia and to watch and defend the passes which led to the state of Vishnupur. In lieu of their service, they used to get land rentfree for their maintenance and used to live well. But with the disappearance of the Vishnupur State and the expropriation of their lands by the East India Company, these people have fallen off from their former position.

The Bhumij don't eat beef and don't eat the remnants of other persons' food. They are

great thieves and robbers. The police information is that they are a criminal tribe. The Vaishnava *bābajis* act as their *gurus*, and degraded Brahman officiate as their priests. Their marriage ceremony is performed in the same way as that of the high caste Hindus.

**Bhuiyas :—**

The Bhuiyas are a better caste than the Bhūmij. The word Bhuiya signifies landlord. They claim to have been the feudal landlords of the Vishnupur State when it was a subsidiary State. Outward appearance and the fact that water carried by them will not be touched by high class Hindus, point to their aboriginal origin. But they have better features than the Bhūmij, and are more Hinduised, and the Brahman priests of high class Hindus act as their priests.

The Bhuiyas of Santāl Parganas have got landlords from their castes who are called "Ghāṭwāls" These arrogate to themselves the rank of Kshatriyas and even claim "Solar" dynastic geneology!

**Koras :—**

The Kōrās are another depressed caste. They say that they originally came from Chōṭa-Nāgpur. They also call themselves as Mudi. The word 'Mudi' in Bengalee signifies a store-keeper. But there is no Hindu caste of the same name. A Hindu who is a store-keeper by profession falls within the category of Vaishya (merchant) caste. But the Kōrās are decidedly an aboriginal caste, as their customs betray it. Hence they cannot be identified with any of the Hindu

merchant castes. Probably they are cognate with the *Muṇḍās* of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, and living among the Hindus of West Bengal, they are trying to give a Hinduised form to their name. Probably it was *Muṇḍā* (?) which they changed into *Mundi* and Bengalicised into *Mudi*.

The *Kōṛās* are diggers by profession. Vaishnav *Bābājis* act as their *gurus*. Their *Mājhis* (caste-elders) officiate as priests during marriage ceremonies which take place at the dawn of day. They chant the name of "Hari" with the Vaishnav *bābājis*. The tortoise, duck, Sol-fish, egg *etc.* are their *gotras* and they abstain from using these things as articles of food. Hence it seems these are their totems. Regarding the *Kōṛās*, Risley says, "That *Kora*, *Kaora*, *Khaira* appears to be the same". He thinks probably they are an offshoot from the *Muṇḍā* tribe as they have totemistic sections of the same type as the *Muṇḍās*. But the *Kōṛās* of Bankura who claim themselves to be Bengalee "*Mudis*" will be scandalized to hear of a *Muṇḍā* affinity being assigned to them.

#### Lohar :—

The *LOHAR* seem to be of the same origin as the *Khairā*, *Bāgdi*, *etc.* All these castes are becoming Hinduised ; with the degree of progress in their Hinduisation they are abstaining from eating beef, pork *etc.* But they all eat fowl. The more they become Hinduised, the more they imitate the customs of the upper classes of Hindus, and they get the services of the Vaishnav *bābājis*. Some of them are already getting the services of

Brāhmaṇ priests. A Santāl (Mahes Manjhi mentioned in the foregoing "Anthropological Notes") informed me that he got a Bengalee Brāhmaṇ from Purulia (District Manbhum now in Bihār) as his priest during the s'rādh ceremony of his father and the Brāhmaṇ brought a *Saligramsila* (symbol of Hindu God Nārāyana) to worship during the ceremony.

**Samanto :—**

The two *Sāmanto* subjects examined by me call themselves Chhatris, though they are cultivators by profession and do not wear the sacred thread. In their somatic characteristics they exhibit some of the aboriginal traits, have black eyes, very dark complexion and one of them has wavy hair. They are below the average in stature. The second one of them has got the appearance of an aboriginal. I wonder whether they are hybrids as in other characteristics they betray traces of the blood of upper castes, and it seems they are recognized as belonging to a good caste.

**Layak :—**

The Lāyaks are said to have invaded West Bengal in the eighteenth century from Chōṭā Nagpur side. The tradition of their raids was remembered in West-Bengal hinterland for a long time. They are very dark with flat noses, and in their facial appearance resemble the depressed and aboriginal castes. The Lāyaks who have settled in the Jhāgrām sub-division of Midnapur district having got some cultural polish are calling themselves as Kayasthas, while it is reported

that in Bankura side they are calling themselves as Kshatriyas. They have reached eastward as far as Ghāṭāl sub-division of Midnapur district as agricultural labourers.

### **Chatris :—**

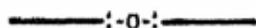
The *Chhatris* of the district of Bankura claim to be the descendents of the Rājput settlers from Rājputānā. They claim to have come from Bāratpur. The old families claim kinship with the old Viṣṇupur Rāj family. They are indistinguishable from the Hindus of higher castes. They are Bengalicised in every respect and are governed by the Bengal School of Hindu law.

All these castes are endogamous amongst themselves. The theory that the Hindu caste system originally was based on division of labour (see also my article in the "ANTHROPOS" mentioned before) finds its support from the Bankura district where several castes not to be found elsewhere, and not mentioned in Manu, are to be found. According to their respective professions they have formed themselves into castes such as the Lohār. Their original profession was to smelt iron from rock ores for the Viṣṇupur Rājā. Though their features betray their aboriginal origin, yet to-day they have grouped themselves into a separate caste and call themselves according to their profession as Lohārs (ironsmiths).

### **Totem :—**

It is said the non-Āryan races have totems for their ancestors. This is a fact with the so-called non-Āryan-speaking castes and tribes of India. Many of the

aboriginal and untouchable castes and tribes of India have totems for their ancestors. The same is the case with the aboriginal and untouchable castes of West-Bengal. Some of them have only reminiscences of their totems, others have forgotten the tradition though the taboo still remains. In many cases; one has to surmise the totem by getting at the taboo and the worship connected with some animals and plants, and the veneration attached to these things. Nowadays many of these castes by coming in contact with Brahman priests are adopting Hindu *gotras*, hence totems are becoming things of the past though prohibitive taboos still remain.



## II. PREHISTORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC FINDS OF THE RAICHUR & SHORAPUR DIS- TRICTS OF H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S STATE.

By

THE LATE CAPTAIN LEONARD MUNN, O.B.E., (*Mil.*), M.E.

F.R.A.I.

*Special Officer i/c., Hyderabad Geological Survey.*

The geological history of man is the most interesting of all branches of geology.

Of all the districts of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's State, each full of archaeological interest, there is probably no area where the life and habits of early man in India can be better studied than in the Doabs formed by the junctions of the Tungabhadra, Krishna and Bhima rivers. Probably, on account of the profusion of suitable rocks for both making polished artefacts and building megalithic structures, neolithic and early-iron-age man seems to have preferred the Archaean and Purāṇa rock areas of these zones to the Deccan Trap uplands, just as I have elsewhere suggested (in my report in the Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Department ~~1335~~<sup>1335F</sup>) that palaeolithic man preferred the quartzite areas, as owing to the fracture of that rock so many stones lay ready for his use, which required but little chipping to make a really useful scraper or other palaeolithic implement. Be that as it may, man's neolithic remains are certainly to be found in far greater abundance on the former types of rocks.

It is to that indefatigable and versatile officer, Colonel Meadows Taylor, of the Hyderabad contingent, that we owe our thanks, for first bringing the prehistoric remains of these districts, especially that of the Shorapur (Surapur) area, to the notice of the Western world. Some years later, Mr. Bruce Foote of the Government of India Geological Survey, while employed upon the survey of this district, enriched, not only his fine collection of neolithic artefacts from these districts, but later added considerably to our knowledge of the subject when, in 1916, he wrote his work on "*Indian Protohistoric and Prehistoric Antiquities*" being an enlargement on his work, "Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities" Government Museum, Madras," which was published in 1901. Since that date, save for an unpublished report by MacLaren on the ancient gold mines in the Raichur Doab, containing a note on the ash-mounds at Wandalli, to which I refer later, I believe no printed report exists save for a section in my small compilation called "Geology of the Nizam's State," published in 1915, and my several reports published by the Hyderabad Archaeological Department and no matter has been published outside the State save a paper written by me and communicated by prof. Elliot Smith, (now Sir Gerard Elliot Smith) to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society entitled "*Ancient Mines and Megaliths in Hyderabad*". This paper was published in the *Manchester Memoirs*, Vol. LXIV, No. 5, (1921) and has been made much use of



by Mr. Perry in "The Children of the Sun," and I would like here to remark that I am entirely opposed to many of the theories the author weaves around my field observations.

No proper sequence of these various types of remains found in these areas into periods is possible until a pottery sequence is undertaken, and that is a piece of work which is badly needed. However, without wishing to enter the battleground of diverse opinions unarmed, I beg, as the basis of this paper, to suggest the following as a tentative sequence of the objects and remains that have been noted in the area under review, which I am now attempting to describe.

#### SUGGESTED SEQUENCE TABLE.

	Period.	Typical Sites.
Palaeolithic implement of Siliceous limestone.	Palaeolithic.	One found at Yedihali, Surapur Taluq, by Foote, No. 2894, Foote Collection.
Rock Shelters and Neolithic artefacts.	Neolithic to early Iron-age.	Neolithic sites at Billamrayan Gudda, Watgal, Anandgal, Maski, Rodalkundi, Gobarkal, Kotekal and Nawalkal. All rock shelters face southwards.
Early Iron-age, Represented by a clay tuyere and iron slag and pottery, associated with neolithic artefacts.	Early Iron-age, European homotaxis unknown.	As above. All these sites lasted from the neolithic till after discovery of iron-smelting. This list is undoubtedly far from complete.
Rock bruised graffiti.	Neolithic and early Iron-age.	Billamrayan Gudda, Kotekal, Maski and Chik-Hesrur.

Burials. Single, double or treble stone circles with or without underground cists.	Late Neolithic, early Iron-Age.	Lingsugur, Mudgal areas and Mutbal.
(a) with inhumation,		
(b) with cremation.		
Rough Stone Dolmens.	Iron-Age.	Shorapur area ; none found in Raichur District.
(a) closed and holed		
(b) open.		
Stone Alignments.	Iron-Age.	Lingsugur, Manvi and Surapur Division.
Dolmens with hammer-dressed side stones built swastika-like in plan.	Iron-Age.	Benkal Reserved Forest, Gangawati Taluq, Raichur District.
Ash Mound.	Iron-Age.	Wandalli, Gaudur, Benkal, Putkandodi, Yergunti, Manvi, Talamari, Manchanpalli and Idgaunpalli.
Oblong graves formed with boulders with entrance passage to south, surrounded by double, or treble stone circles with an outside ring of ash, alongside square platforms made of outline of rocks 20' square with an internal ash ring,—perhaps cremating places.	Iron-Age.	Bed of Lingsugur tank, east of Lingsugur Kutchery, Benkal, Surapur Division.
Rock paintings.	Iron-Age.	Two sites in Benkal Reserved Forest, Kurvi, Manvi Taluq, and at Mallapur in Anegundi Jaggir.
Gold, Copper and Iron, mining reduction and smelting sites.	Iron-Age to recent.	Scattered all over Dharwar Bands.
Ogham-like writing on boulder associated with domestic rubbing marks.	Iron-Age to recent.	Kurkundi, Field No. 94, Manvi Taluq.

### ***Palaeoliths.***

In spite of being constantly on the look-out, up to date, I, like Bruce Foote, have found no palaeolithic artefacts that I can vouch for, in the Raichur District, though I have a couple of specimens that are very suspicious. I think it can be assumed this area was not a favourite habitat of palaeolithic man.

**Rock Shelters.**

Although neolithic man seems to have favoured certain hills which I have mentioned in the Sequence Table and at those sites made big encampments which in some instances lasted on to iron-age times, owing to the ideal conditions made by the piled up granitoid boulders, caves exist on nearly every hill, all of which would repay investigation, and I am certain, reveal a wonderful collection of remains. But—alas ! my duties do not allow me to give my undivided attention to such work which must be done under careful personal observation, else just leaving such a job to a *mistry* would amount to vandalism.

There is a rock shelter on the top of a hill at Kurkundi in Manvi Taluq, with a curious legend attached to it. The local tale is that in some battle, period unspecified, that the defending party took shelter under this rock which fell on them. It is also stated that in the past, after heavy rains, implements have been washed out of it in the shape of swords. It is of interest to note that the greatest number of rock-shelters obviously long inhabited by man that I have found are all situated on the southern face of the hills. Is it possible that in neolithic days the meteorology was not the same as now, for, under present conditions, the south side of a hill would catch the worst of the monsoon ?

**Neolithic Artefacts.**

I regret that, so far, all my neolithic artefacts have been surface discoveries, so, no date can be

suggested. The cursory examination of the alluvial beds of the Tungabhadra and Krishna yielded no finds. Certain discoveries of artefacts were made in the Tungabhadra alluvial and reported to the Royal Anthropological Institute, but, in spite of several requests, I could get no information as to the locality from the Secretary.

*Photo 1* is a small selection of the best neolithic artefacts that I have collected during the course of my work, and are shown here photographed on 1" squared paper. I would draw special attention to the small artefact in the central line on the left marked 'A' on account of the calcareous patina with which it is covered.

*Photo 2* shows a collection of artefacts in the making and, I think, is of special interest. The reason why so many come from around the foot of hill Billamrayan Gudda, is that that hill is but three miles to the north-west of my Office, in consequence it has been my happy hunting-ground. In my opinion, here, at this neolithic site, one has found a workshop, but neither I nor my staff have been able to absolutely identify the dolerite dyke rock from which the ancients selected this especially fine-grained material. Referring back to *Photo 1*, on account of the enormous number of butt ends of neolithic artefacts that I can pick up, not only at Billamrayan Gudda, but at all neolithic sites, in comparison with sharpened ends like B 17 (fourth on the top row), I have come to the natural conclusion that a finished and polished axe must have been of

extraordinary value and whenever there was sufficient stone left, the broken end was chipped down and reformed into a smaller implement, like some shown in photo 1.

*Photo 3* gives a few specimens of a very large number of circular stone discs, never more than  $\frac{1}{4}$ " inch thick, that can be picked up in numbers at any neolithic site. I found some of these associated with palaeoliths near the Godavari and mentioned them in my report on "Human Artefacts and Fossilized bones found in the Godavari Valley", which formed Appendix A of the Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department for 1335F., (1925-6). At that time I thought they were discs, so shaped, as to allow them to be slung from some form of a forked stick, somewhat in the manner of a hand clay-pigeon thrower. After considerable thought, I discarded that idea, mostly on account of their weight, which would hardly make them an effective weapon, partially because I thought that my theory was over-strained. My present idea is, that they were used by men and boys in those days, as now, to play a game similar to Indian hop-scotch, known locally as *billa-churki*, for which they are ideally suited. I shall be very grateful for any better suggestion. *Photo 4* shows two of my servants playing the game with one of these discs on a properly marked out court.

On the rocks, near old gold workings, I have found parallel lines of very small holes, big enough to hold a betel nut, sometimes 7 or 11, sometimes

more in parallel lines. In other instances another parallel line runs at right angles, somewhat resembling a "*Bhag-Burki*" board, but different. I am satisfied these are not the work of modern shepherd boys, and suggest that these and the stone discs I have first illustrated are evidence of prehistoric games.

It is a compliment to the keen eyes of Mr. Bruce Foote that we have so far been unable to discover any new neolithic sites, but our work on the revision of the boundary of the Dharwars seldom leads us to closely explore gneissic hills. I am sure if a properly qualified all-time man was given these districts to carefully examine, that many more sites would be found, and a wonderful collection of material and very valuable information could be gathered.

### ***Early Iron-Age.***

Mr. Bruce Foote has reported having discovered clay tuyeres used for iron smelting at Bellary.

*Photo 5* illustrates a clay tube which fits on to the nozzle of the bellows used in iron smelting and is called a tuyere. This I discovered on the surface on the southern side of Watgal hill, and within 20 yards on either side picked up those two beautiful examples of polished artefacts. All around this outcrop at Watgal and on the south side of Billamrayan Gudda and Kotekal the earth is over 50% wood-ash and shows up conspicuously against the surrounding red *mooram*. This high percentage of wood-ash suggests a long period of human settlement at these sites. The

grey soil is thick with broken potsherds and on the south side of all these hills iron slag is very noticeable. All these sites should be carefully trenched and the resulting pottery sequence and depth to which iron slag is found would be of inestimable value.

Iron is mentioned several times in the *Atharva Veda*, the latest of the four Vedas and now generally recognized to date about 1200-1000 B.C. True, earlier mention of iron is found in earlier Indian literature, but the references are of doubtful authenticity.

The original discovery of iron smelting in India was probably very early. I base this remark on the fact that there are large areas in Peninsular India, where prehistoric man had no alternative but to use fairly high grade iron-ore for his hearth-stones. I postulate, that the constant play of CO gas on these iron-stone hearths would, in time, have the effect of making them malleable, and this I believe would be the most probable means by which the discovery of iron-smelting was made. If pottery was burnt in kilns made of rich iron-stone, the effect would be more noticeable. It must be remembered that from an earlier date, man had utilized meteoric iron and so the utility of this chance product would be recognized. I believe that it must have been in some such area on the surface of the globe, where such geological conditions exist, that the use of iron was first discovered. In my opinion these two methods are much more likely to

have led to the discovery of how to smelt iron from its ores than through a forest fire, Tylor's suggestion that it might have been discovered by a flash of lightning is untenable, as a high current might slag the iron ore, but not reduce the metal iron from its ore. Leading authorities like Burkitt and Gordon Childe seem to have made up their minds that the initial discovery of iron smelting was made by the Hittites in Asia Minor during the XIV Century B. C. I have been unable to get any information as to the geology of that area, but in my private opinion, unless such rich iron ore is available all over the surface, I should prefer to look elsewhere for the scene of initial discovery. I take this opportunity of entirely contradicting ever having suggested that this art was transmitted to India under Egyptian aegis as stated by Mr. Perry in "*Children of the Sun*" pages 88 and 97. My belief is that the art is perhaps indigenous, but in some curious inexplicable way identical with the African practice.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> —Since this paper was written, my attention has been drawn to Rickards' 'Man and Metals' and I am gratified to note that such a leading authority upholds my theory as to how probably iron-smelting was first discovered. I would like here to draw special attention to the point, that although iron in itself is easily destructible, forming rust, on the other hand the slag formed in the process (iron silicate) is indestructible and may be the means of proving the date when iron was manufactured in any area in commercial quantities, as opposed to sporadic accidental reductions. Rickards bears strongly on the point that archaeologists have not been careful enough in differentiating between smelted iron and



**Rock-bruised graffiti.**

It is strange that the keen eyes of Mr. Bruce Foote did not notice the iron slag to the south of Billamrayan Gudda hill, or the stone bruised graffiti, which are very frequent on the boulders on the south side of this hill, all too inaccessible to photograph. The positions selected for these drawings suggest secrecy as one finds to-day among the Australian blacks, who do not allow women, or uninitiated boys to see them.

*Photo 6* I think you will allow might be an elephant. A similar picture was found near Bellary.

On Kotekal hill, I have found a great number of stone bruised graffiti of exceptional interest to me, as the numerous animals portrayed suggest

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meteoric iron. The Hittite XIV Century B. C. text speaks of 'black iron of heaven from the 'sky'! In the Pyramid text (2750-2450 B. C.) iron is mentioned as a heavenly metal the word used being 'bia-en-pet' meaning 'metal of heaven' or 'marvel from heaven', whereas in a late inscription from Denderah the word 'bia-en-ta' meaning 'metal of earth' is used as if to distinguish terrestrial from meteoric iron. Again, Rickards points out that the Summerian word was 'an-bar' signifying 'sky fire' which warrants the same inference. Meteoric iron contains 5 to 26% of nickel, a rough average being  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ , together with some cobalt from trace to  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ . Such percentages are extreme varieties in terrestrial iron so an analysis of pre-historic iron discoveries would quickly settle the point. Iron was not in frequent use in Egypt till between the XXII and XXV dynasties, say 945-718 B. C. (J. A. H. Sayes, *Man* 1922, No. 27. 2. Kurt Sethe *Journal*, Egyptian Archaeology Vol. I p. 234; 1914. 3. Johannes Diemichen '*Historische Inschriften*' Vol. II pg. 56).

that this area which now is treeless and with a very insecure rainfall, must once have been heavily forested, bearing out the idea that this area was once part of the great Dandaka Forest mentioned in the Ramayana.

*Photo 7* I think, undoubtedly represent bar-rasingh stag.

*Photo 8* illustrates a big horned bison. On Billamrayan Gudda hill are also portrayed faces of men with very exaggerated ears. These faces are of great interest as at Maski and Koratgi I have discovered clay figurines of men's faces with similar exaggerated ears. (Photo 26)

This hill has by no means been properly inspected, nor have the hundreds of similar kopjes that are scattered all over the Raichur Doab, which, as I have said before, will, I am sure, well repay careful search.

At Chik Hesrur 6 miles to the west of Kote-kal the rocks are covered with small drawings which I am satisfied are not modern; they were first noticed by Mr. F. W. Grey, late Director of the Hutti Gold Mine.

### ***Stone Circle Burials.***

A large number of these, before unreported, have been found by myself and my staff scattered all over the District and as they do not differ in appearance from others noted elsewhere, it does not seem necessary to mention all the sites here.

Similar stone circle graves are scattered all over the State and have received the special attention of my old friend Dr. Hunt. See *Hyderabad Cairns (Their Problems)* Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1916 ; *Hyderabad cairn Burials and their Significance.* Journal R. A. I., Vol LIV. 1924.

### ***Rough Stone Dolmens.***

The Geological Survey of the Raichur District has so far not revealed any specimens of this class of Megalithic remains, so I am unable to give any illustrations, but Meadows Taylor has reported the profusion in which they were once to be found in the Shorapur District. I regret to say during a recent tour that I made, I found that nearly all have been destroyed. All these dolmens are built like a card house. See Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments* page 447 et seq.

### ***Stone Alignments.***

Dr. Mahadevan during his survey found two miles north of Manvi hill, which seems to have been an important centre in Neolithic days, a big alignment, the centre of which is a quartz outcrop. I am satisfied that in the Raichur district these must be quite common, but the ryot and that damnable fellow the stone-wadder, at the urge of the road contractor, have nearly cleared all evidence.

### ***Holed Dolmens.***

On page 407 of Vol. IV of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Col.

Meadows Taylor refers to a big group of Dolmens near Yemmiguda which he notes are locally called "Morri Houses". They were reported to him by the Rev. G. Keis in 1853.

*Photo 9* shows a panoramic view of what I believe is one of the finest collections in India. Beyond those that are seen in the panorama, they stretch for another three or four hundred yards. The direction of the Dolmens is clearly shown by the compass mark on the top of the biggest dolmen in the left hand of *photo 9*.

On the top of this hill alongside these dolmens is a small water hole which I think was probably one of the reasons of the choice of the site. Many of the photographs in the panorama, and shown in *photo 10 and 11*, are holed, but do not show in the photograph.

Since writing this paper, I have had a large scale survey made of this field and this proves that unlike other holed dolmens, holes are to be found facing indiscriminately all points of the compass and revealed the fact that all had once been surrounded with a wall either circular or square, made of loose slabs of gneiss. During the course of the survey I was able to make a much closer inspection than my first hurried visit allowed. I must here amend the remarks I wrote (see page 131 Vol. II part i of the Journal, Hyderabad Geological Survey Department). It is true that to the west and even amidst the fine structures illustrated in *Photo 9* a gradual deterioration is markedly noticeable,

culminating in chambers being formed under the boulders (Photo 10). But on the maidan which lies to the west of the gneissic ridge on which the finest structures stand it would appear as if a new cult intervenes. Here are found two and three compartmented graves covered with a capstone and surrounded by a circle of slabstone set on edge, this is noticeable on the left hand dolmen in Photo 11. To the west of these compartmented dolmens comes an open space of about 150 yards on which no structure whatever exist. This is followed by an area 150 yards by 150 yards on which to the east and around the edges some diminutive compartmented graves are found, but most of the remains are small holed dolmens built on a mound surrounded by a circle of slabstones on edge and a small square compartment built of slabs on edge 18" square directly in front of the hole. (Photo 12.) A fuller monograph on this important find is being prepared.

### **Ash Mounds.**

The existence of ash mounds in the Bellary and Raichur areas was first noticed by Mr. Bruce Foote and subsequently by myself and then MacLaren. By far the greatest heaps exist near the gold mine at Wandalli camp (photo 13 and 14) some four miles to the north-west, another lies between the villages of Machnur and Gaudur (photo 15) and I must restrict myself to these in heaps, though others exist. (See Sequence Table). A report on these two heaps has been published as Appendix C in the Annual

Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department for 1337F., (1927-8) in which I have dealt carefully with the various aspects of these heaps, which seem to contradict each and every theory proposed for their existence. I will here but recapitulate the most essential of these features. First, even now their volume is very extensive, and every evidence exists to show they were once probably at least double their present size. The Wandalli heap measures now 300' x 200' x 50' high and Gaudur which has been even more extensively mined for white-washing houses, 200' x 50', with a thickness of 25' on southern face tapering to 8'ft. on the northern. These figures alone would seem to nullify the suggestions made by my late revered friend and correspondent Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, in his paper read on April 1st 1931, before the Anthropological Society of Bombay, entitled "The Recently discovered Ash Mounds in the Raichur District". In that paper the author suggests that these mounds are cremation grounds. Now, even giving a very long period for their growth, there are no remains in the district to suggest such a congested population which would have been necessary to supply sufficient ashes from human cremations for two such big mounds as at Wandalli and Gaudur, only about five miles apart. In fact, everything suggests that this area in prehistoric times was a dense forest. Besides, not a trace of human bones has been found in the lower layers at Gaudur. The presence in both heaps of quantities of rubbing

stones and Mullackers adds to the complication. The same reason seems to preclude Mr. Bruce Foote's suggestion that their origin was, accidentally burnt cow-dung heaps, though microscopical examination of some of the cinder suggests the presence of straw. On seeing Wandalli heap, for the first time in 1905, I took the mound to owe its origin to some spring giving a calcareous deposit. The analyses I give below would bear out the idea of a sinter, but many other points contradict any such solution of the problem. Below I give two analyses of Wandalli heap, one by Bruce Foote and the other by the late Mr. Bosworth Smith.

Analysis by Bruce Foote.		Analysis by Bosworth Smith.	
	Percent.		Percent.
Moisture. ...	0.26	K <sub>2</sub> O	1.11
Loss on ignition.	3.39	Na <sub>2</sub> O ...	2.54
SiO <sub>2</sub> ...	66.19	CaO ...	10.89
CaO ...	15.88	MgO ...	3.89
Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	8.19	Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> ...	17.27
P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub> ...	1.57	Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> ...	4.51
Undetermined	4.52	CO <sub>2</sub> ...	5.30
	<hr/> 100.00	P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub> ...	1.17
		H <sub>2</sub> O (at 100°)	0.20
		SiO <sub>2</sub> ...	53.10
			<hr/> 99.98

The vesicular, scoriaceous and slaggy appearance of the material is clearly shown in Photo 14 and this for a time made me try and associate these heaps with some metallurgical process connected with the adjacent gold workings at Wandalli, but for many reasons that theory will not stand.

*Photo 16* shows part of the Ash Mound at Gaudur, which shows a curious layer formation. Taking the section from the top, we have 23" of scoriaceous material overlying 3" of pinky brown band, below this 12" of white ash overlying 12" of 1" thick layered bands with charcoal and potsherd and embedded stones, overlying 30" of white loose ash layers with stones embedded, at the bottom the ash mound continues below, the lowest layer containing cattle bones. With all due respect to the revered memory of Sir J. J. Modi, he did not seem to have grasped the scoriaceous consistency and slaggy nature of these mounds, nor taken into account the cattle bones and rubbing stones and I still claim the origin of these mounds have not yet been explained.

### ***Stone and Ash Circled Graves.***

In the same appendix to the Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department for 1337F, (1927-8), I have reported my discovery of these ash circled graves and what I tentatively describe as burning grounds. This curious group of burials were temporarily exposed in the bed of Lingsugur Tank which had gone dry after several years of drought and are now again submerged, so it was extraordinarily lucky I happened to be on the spot.

The plans of these graves have already been published in the Hyderabad Archaeological Department Annual Report for 1337 F, (1927-8). The only ash circled grave that was opened was No. 1 (*photo 17*), and shows the circles of ash which



I had to white wash to show in the photo, owing to the heavy white calcareous deposit on all the rocks from their long submersion below the water of the tank. No cist was found in either No. 1 nor in another stone circled grave nearer my bungalow, but only a mass of pottery and human bones. These were extracted with the greatest difficulty as pumping had to be resorted to and all the bones and pots were sodden. *Photo 18* shows the resulting collection of pottery. *Photo 19* is a photo of one of the several platforms outlined by square formed of boulders generally about 40 ft. square, with an interior ash circle. These, I have suggested, may have been a burning ground.

I have never found in the course of my reading any reference to ash circled graves either in India or elsewhere and if I am wrong, I shall be very grateful for reference to any similar occurrence. These ash circled graves seem to make the enigma of the ash mounds even greater and I make no comments, as the whole thing to me is a bewildering puzzle.

What the original extent of this cemetery was, it is impossible to guess, as the silt of the tank must have covered many, others would have been destroyed when Karadkal village was built centuries ago, but yet you find them again within two furlongs of Billamrayan Gudda Hill to the north west (the neolithic site I have referred to so often). A further extensive group has since been found south-east of the Taluqdar's Office. See plan in

Hyderabad Archaeological Department Annual Report 1337B. While the tank was dry, morning and evening, I regularly searched the area for stone artefacts and I have, without boasting, a very good eye for spotting them. I therefore cannot associate the neolithic site at Billamrayan Gudda with these graves but put them at a much later date, in the Iron Age period. Their peculiarities have made me classify them separately in the suggested sequence table.\*

### ***Rock Paintings.***

As I have said above, it was while searching for Dr. Keis' dolmens that I made this chance discovery. I had already, on the top of this rugged plateau, which forms Benkal Reserved forest, discovered one beautiful example of a rock shelter and within a hundred yards or so, spotted another. This cave as you might call it, is formed of huge boulders of granitoid gneiss and the front boulder 20' ft. high has an overhanging top which has to some extent protected the painting. On this occurs a hunting scene and above a dance carried out by women in groups of three, with very attenuated waists. *Photo 20* is a general view of the rock painting. I should here say that owing to the curvature of the boulder on which the paintings have been made, which clearly

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\* At a meeting at the London University when I showed some slides to a distinguished audience, on asking whether any such like ash circled graves had been reported before, I was told mine was the first report.

shows in Photo 20, photography is extraordinarily difficult, besides the paintings which are in red ochre are very faint. This hunting scene faces west and can only be photographed at a certain time in the afternoon and then only for about 10 minutes when the sun lights them up. I would draw your attention to the man with the axe. (*Photo 21*). I first assumed from its size that this must be an iron axe, but I find stone axes of equal size reported by Prof. Moir. I think it is certain that the men are mounted on horses. I come to this conclusion from the tails which cannot be that of a bullock or buffalo.

In the upper part of the painting are rows of women with wasp-like waists some with head-dresses, undoubtedly dancing. Other mounted men with axe and spear are hunting and black bucks and a humped cattle are recognizable. The wasp-like waists are very interesting. There is a painting on the north face of the same huge boulder which is apparently of a bovine animal painted over a picture of a panther or leopard.

The paintings are about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile west of the holed dolmens. The cave behind these rock paintings has been since cleared out and sifted and no find of any description was made. Photo (*Photo 22*) is of an extraordinary face of rock, so vertical and smooth that at first one would suspect human agency but it is not, it is a pure natural cleavage. The paintings have been preserved by the overhanging top which clearly shows in the photograph. There are several notice-

able things in this picture, the man, apparently dressed in a shirt being charged by what I think is a bear, (Photo 23) and a horned animal and more to the right, an animal which looks more like a kangaroo than anything else. What the other symbols shown in photo mean, I have not the foggiest idea.

These paintings are about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles to east of the holed dolmens. The sheet of rock on which they are painted faces a large open arena, just the sort of place to hold a corroboree.

The next paintings come from a very large cave north of Mallapur village in the Anegundi Samasthan. I was lead there by a shepherd and it seems incredible to believe, but the village Patel did not even know of its existence.

This figure (Photo. 24) is undoubtedly connected with a fertility cult and is painted on the roof of the cave. I have wondered whether the lines might suggest tattoing. Again this rock shelter faces south and must be about 3-4 miles south east of the dolmens. Round the corner of the cave on the wall are other paintings of animals which are unrecognizable. Enlargements of all these paintings have been submitted to Mr. C. M. Burkitt of Cambridge and his opinion is awaited with interest.

### ***Ancient Gold Mines & Metallurgical Plants.***

It is impossible to deal adequately with such a big subject in a general report on the antiquities of this District. Suffice to say, that from

the Taluq of Shorapur, where the most northerly exposure of Dharwar gold bearing rocks have been discovered, all through the Raichur District and on down past Mysore State where the famous Kolar Gold Mines are situated, into the Wynnad, no auriferous quartz reef exists, that at some early date was not prospected, and if payable, was mined by some unknown people. That the period over which this mining was carried on was not sporadic is proved, not only by the enormous area prospected, but also by the amount of mining effected. At Hutti mine in the Lingsugur Division, the ancients mined and removed (by fire setting) all valuable gold ore from a quartz reef to the incredible depth of 640' ft. over an average length of 5280' ft. It is a fair statement to make that wherever gold reefs occur in the Dharwar rocks in S. India, the ancients mined and removed all surface payable quartz, anyhow to water level.

The whole country is riddled with their mining efforts.

The gold quartz which they extracted was first pounded down by stone hammers to the size of grain and then further crushed to powder by being rolled under boulders of gneiss, or dolerite, many of these rollers weighing well over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tons. The saucer-like depressions formed by this process on the hardest hornblende trappoid rock are in great evidence, generally near nullahs in the vicinity of the old workings. The resulting powdered quartz was washed probably in wooden pans, in the same manner employed by *Julgars* today.

Who was responsible for, or what was the date of the commencement of this extensive mining and metallurgical operations is unknown. Both folk-lore and history are silent on the subject. The only inference which might possibly be made is, that certain villages within the gold belt have the affix Chinna or Honnu, meaning gold in ancient Canarese. As far as the writer knows, such affixes do not occur outside the auriferous belt. The writer would be grateful if readers would verify this fact in their several districts.

Considering the terrible underground conditions that must have existed owing to the method employed in extracting the reef any idea that the actual work was done save by slave labour is untenable. This would seem to rule the Phoenicians as the authors of this undertaking out of Court, for the Phoenician was a trader pure and simple—never a conqueror.

During the research necessary to write a monograph on this subject, the writer learnt that over the vast area of ancient workings in Rhodesia the method of mining and reduction of the gold quartz is indetical with that in S. India. Further he learnt the astounding fact, which has been carefully verified, that extensive areas of forest occur in the vicinity of the Rhodesian old gold workings consisting of trees and plants not indigenous to Africa, but having their home mostly in S. India, though one is indigenous to S. India and Malay. It is specially noted that the vast area over which these trees and plants have now

spread is a clear indication of the very early date of their introduction into Rhodesia. This subject has been more fully dealt with in a monograph shortly to be published by the Min. Geol. Inst. India.

In this connection, a paper only just been published by Mr. James Hornell 'Indonesian Influences on East African Culture' (Journal Royal Anthropological Institute Vol. LXIV, 1934) should be carefully studied. Hornell gives satisfactory evidence that the early Hindu emigrants to Indonesia who developed a high civilization became bold, deep sea going sailor and traders. Their sea-going ships are illustrated among the wonderful carvings on the Buddhist stupa at Boro Budur in Java. With their ports in Ceylon and on the west coast of India, they carried on an extensive trade with East Africa, exporting gold and iron among other products.

It is most interesting to note in this connection the knowledge of Africa is evidenced in the Sanskrit Purans, and is a subject of research as to how this information was obtained. (See Speke 'Journal of the discovery of the sources of the Nile, Everymans Edition, page 216 et seq).

It seems possible to the writer that a further careful research into these questions may lead to light being thrown on the initiators and exploiters of this very extensive gold mining industry, at an unrecorded period, all over S. India. Further information may yet be gained when the

BIL LAMRAYN GUDDA (Jan. 6 1970- ) JEROME DUFF GUYARD DIST.

WATGAL (UN 30.03.1999 30.03.1999)

RODALKUNDI (y.a.d. 4.1299 N. 4.1) SHAMSHI TILAK SHODH SOCIETY

GOSBARKALLU (GOREBAL) (ಮೊಟ್ಟೆ ಹಾಗೂ ನೆಲೆ) ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ತಾಲೂಕು, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ

Fig. 1. Neolithic Artefacts.





SIL LAMRAYN CUDDA (Lat<sup>N</sup>, 86. Long<sup>E</sup>, 79.) 2710000 TALL. SACRED BUD.

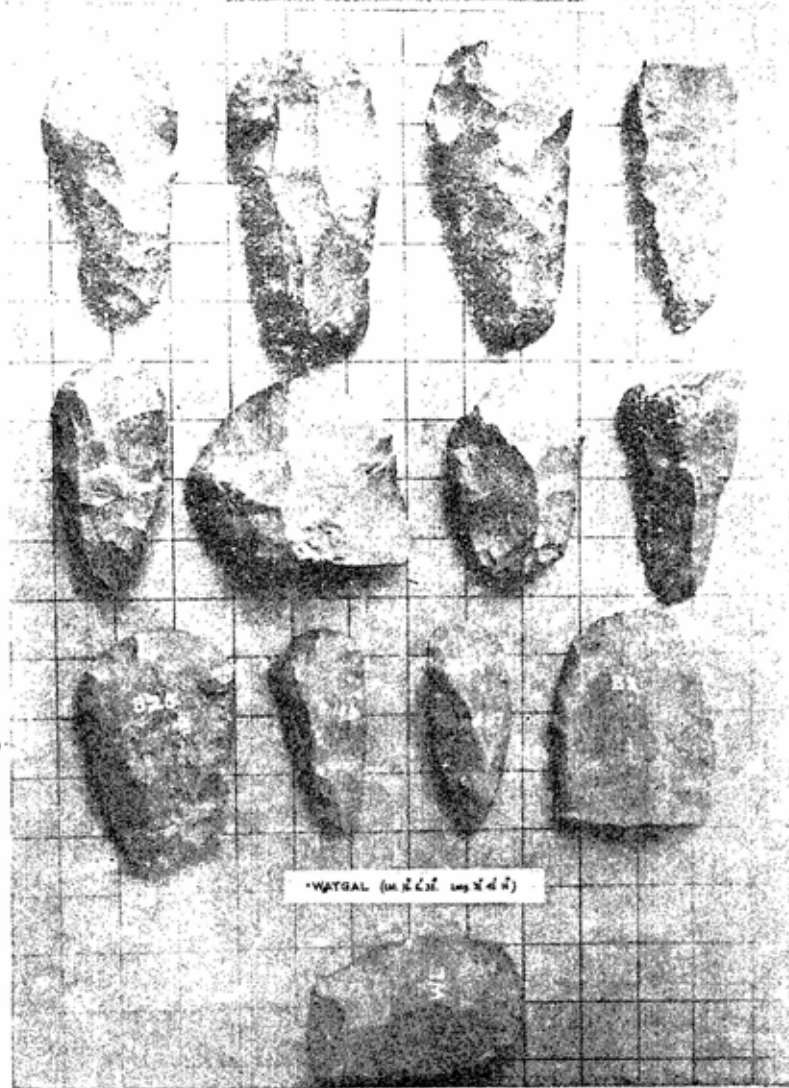


Fig. 2. Neoliths in the making.



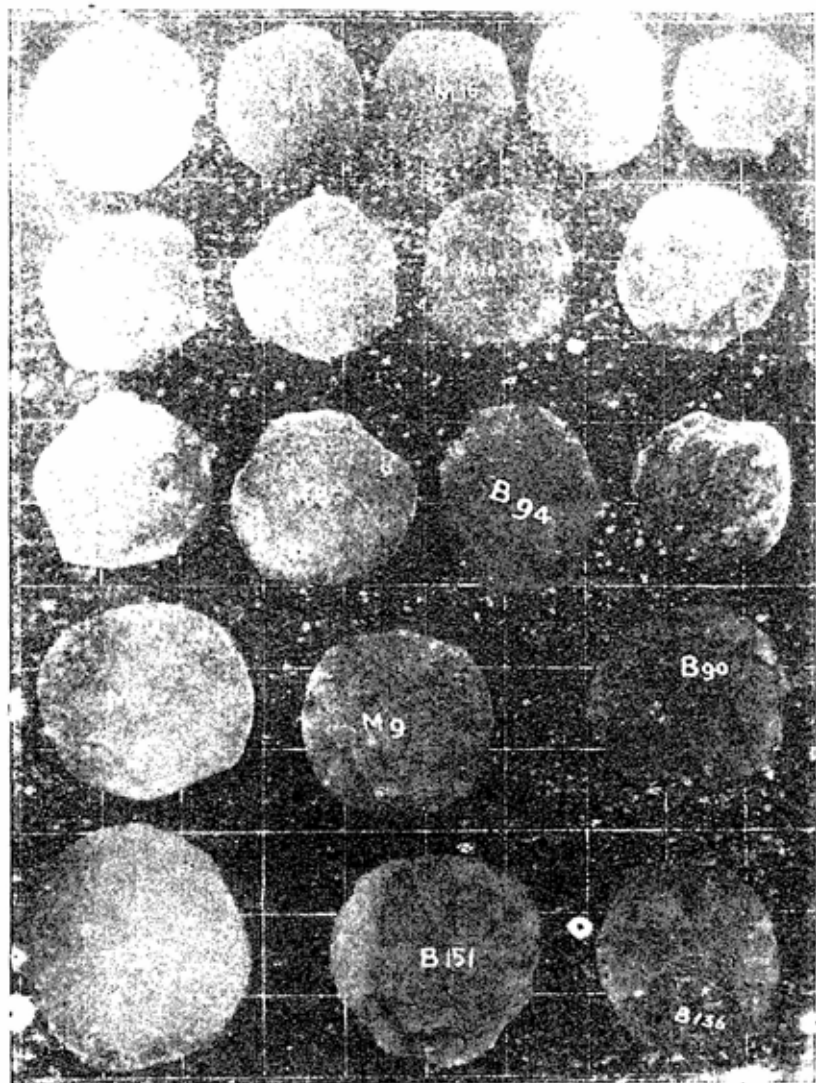


Fig. 3. Stone discs.



NEOLITHICS AND IRON TUYERE. (PICKED UP WITHIN 20 YDS.  
OF EACH OTHER.)

WATGAL (Lth. 16" x 32" Long. 16" x 16")



Fig. 5. Neoliths and Iron Tuyere.

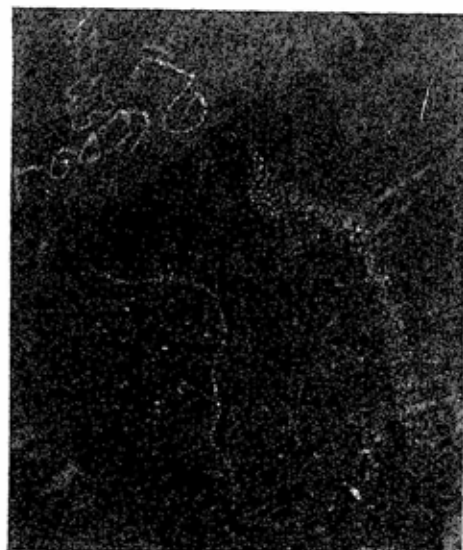




Fig. 6. Stone Bruised Graffiti (Elephant)



Fig. 7. Barusingh Stag







9



10



12



Photo 14. Ash-mound (section).

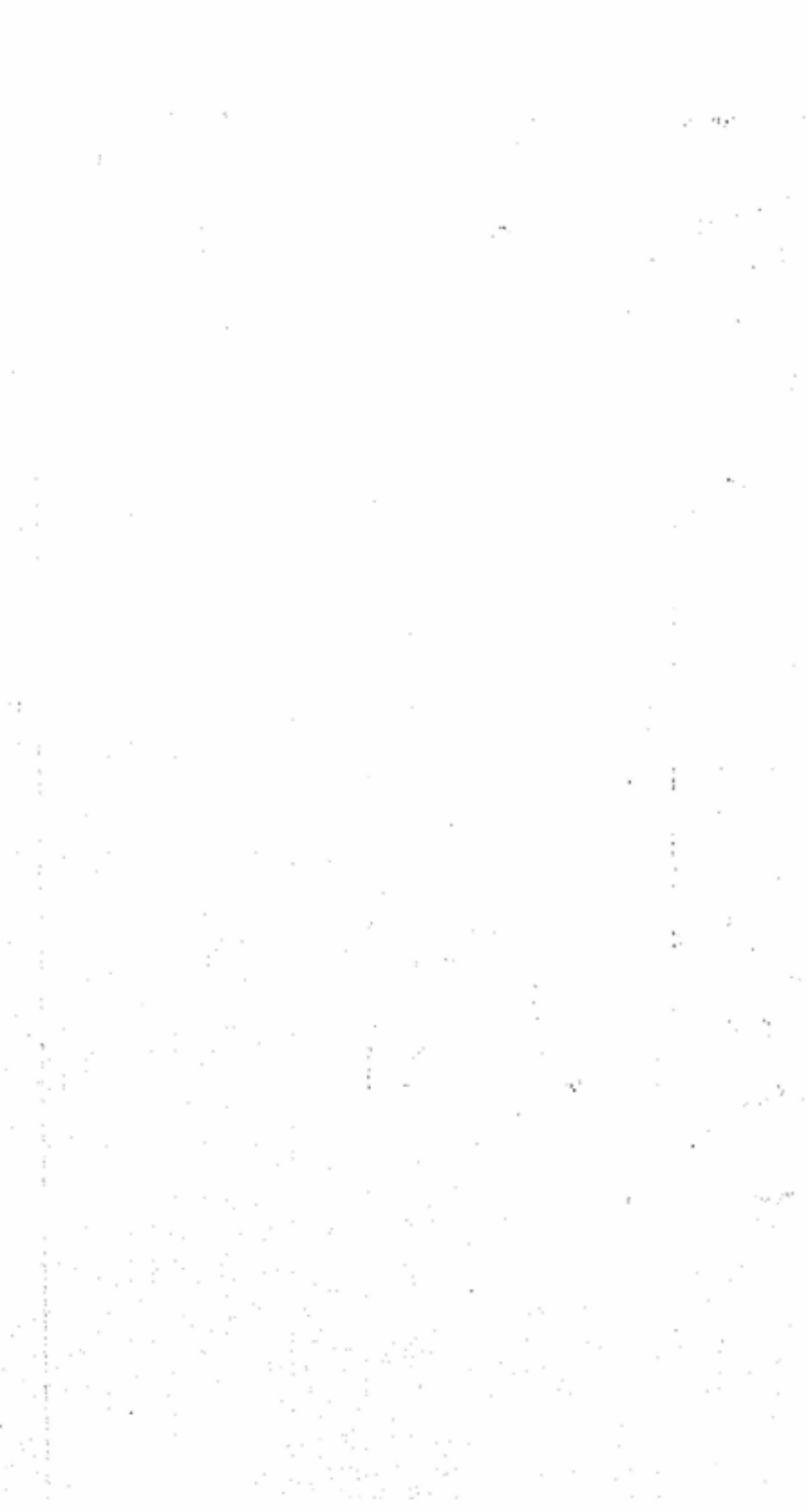




Photo 13. Ash-mound. (section).

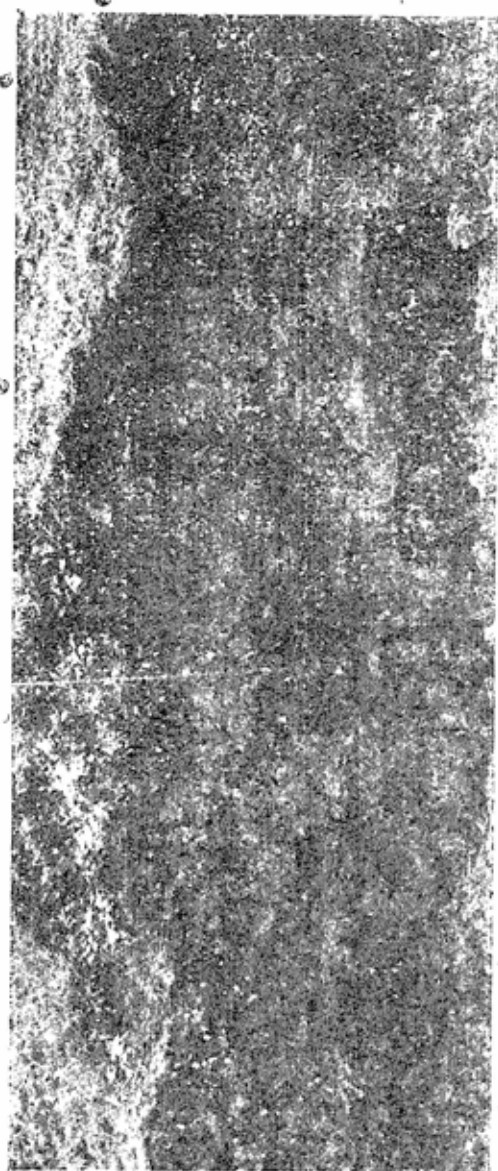


Photo 14. Ash-mound (section).





Fig. 15. Ash-mound.

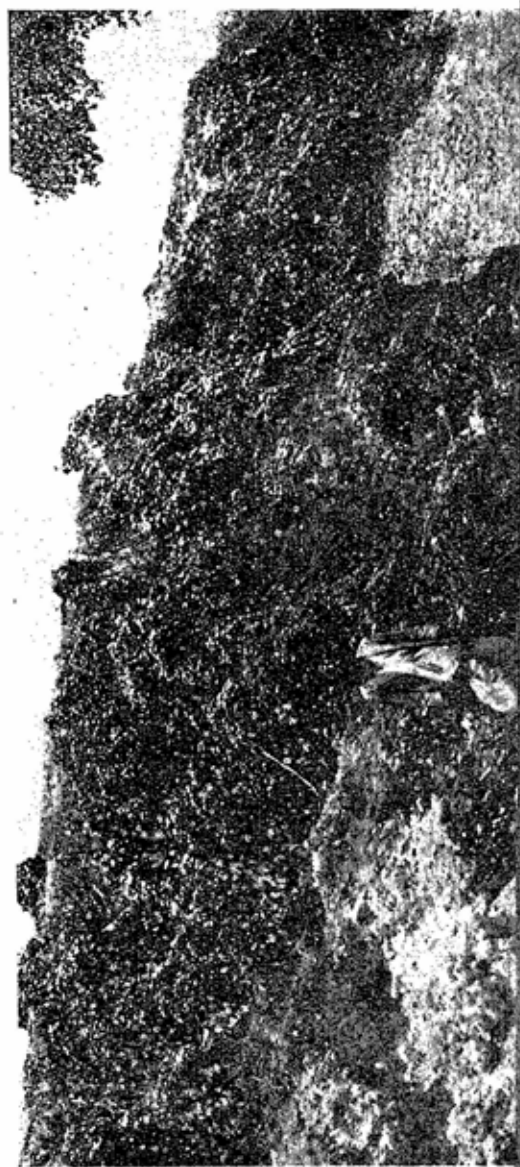






Photo 17. Stone circle grave with outer ash-circle.





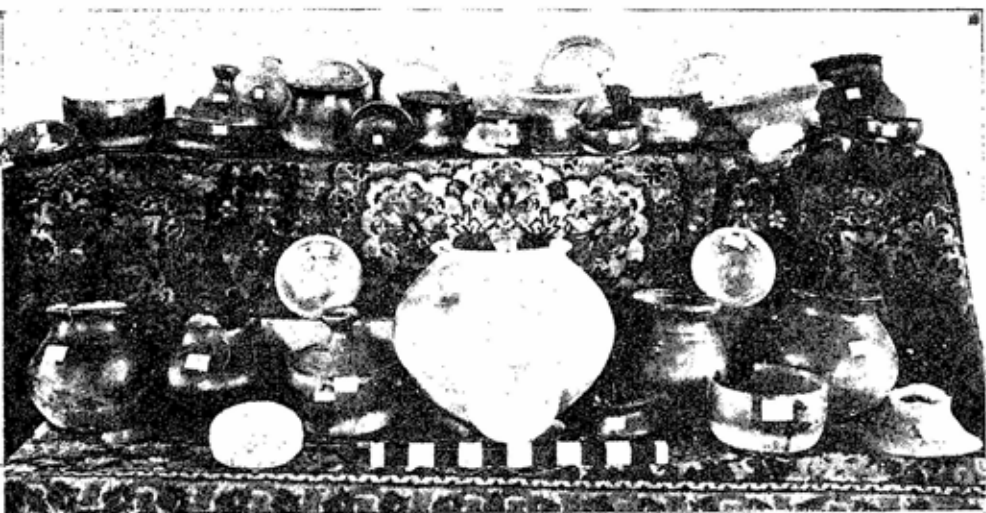


Photo 18. Pottery from Stone circle grave of Fig. 17.



Fig. 19. Square platform outlined by boulders and inner ash-circle.



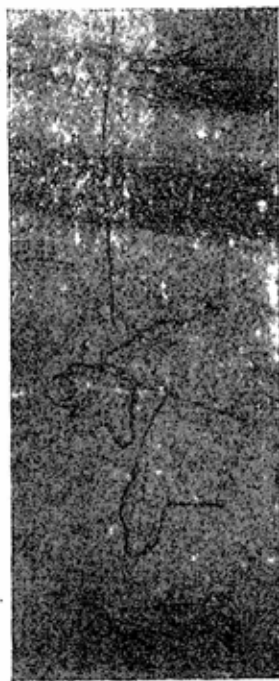
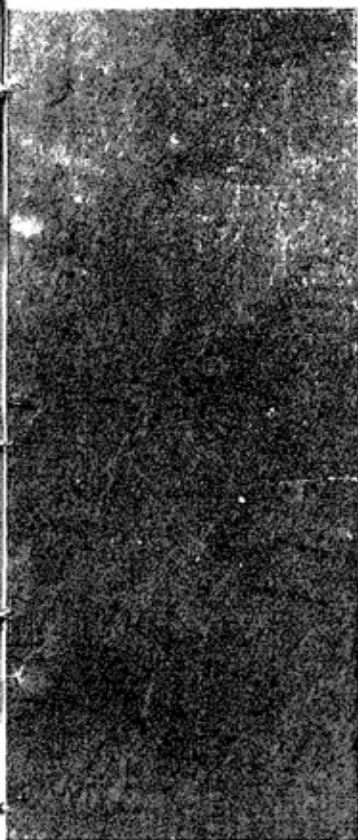


Fig. 9. Dolmens.

Fig. 10. Near view of Fig. 9.

Fig. 11. Compartmental Dolmens.

Fig. 4. Game of Billa-churki.

Fig. 21. Rock-painting.

Fig. 23. Rock-paintings.



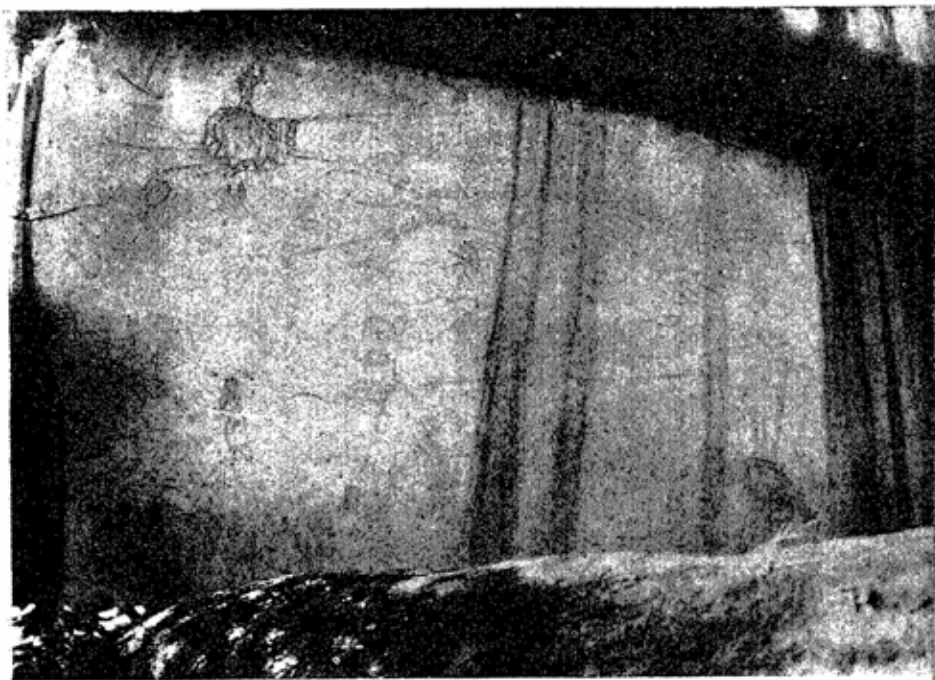


Fig. 22. Rock paintings, Benkal Forest.





Fig. 24. Rock-painting, Malapur Cave.



Fig. 25. Ogham-like writings, Kurkundi.







Fig. 26 Clay Figurines.  
(Note the cars.)



large quantity of ancient Canarese inscriptions in this State are deciphered.

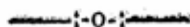
***Ogham-like writings.***

These markings are on a boulder at Kurkundi Photo 25. I am led to believe that like markings have been discovered in Mysore.

***Pottery & figurines &c. probably of Mauryan date.***

At Maski and especially at Koratgi, I believe Mauryan towns once existed. I have often thought that perhaps Maski might be the site of Asoka's Deccan capital Swaranageri (The golden town). There is a cave, which has never been cleared, which contains an Asokan inscription. Just on the hill above is an old gold reduction plant, and on the other side of the hill a small rivulet has exposed 15' ft. of debris including painted pottery, buddhist bricks, chank shell bracelets and other material. A large number of gold workings are just to the east of the town, some within a mile. I learn that at times after the rains gold figures have been picked up from the area. Besides these, clay figurines are found all illustrated in Photo 26. I would draw special attention to the two heads of men with very exaggerated ears as they bear a curious resemblance to the rock bruised graffiti on Billamrayan Gadda Hill referred to above.

All this material has been handed over to the Hyderabad Archaeological Department.\*



\* "Elsewhere in this issue we have published an obituary of him"—  
Ed. M. I.

## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

### I. THE MALERS OF THE RAJMAHAL HILLS.

( *Continued from July-December, 1934, pp. 248-270* ).

#### *Ceremonials.*

**Birth** :—When a Male woman feels the labour pain a small portion of the house is set apart for her delivery. The relatives of the woman, if any, and other women of the village gather together. The midwife anoints the lower part of the woman's abdomen with oil to help her in easy delivery. The woman is to reside in the lying-in-room for five days. The number of days varies from five to seven in the two subdivisions of Rajmahal and Pakur respectively. During the period of confinement in the lying-in-room she is not allowed to touch anything of the house or anybody. The husband usually supplies her necessities during this time. After the period of confinement in the lying-in-room the woman goes to take a ceremonial bath, after which she is declared clean. Hot water is used for drinking during these days of confinement.

**Name Giving** :—The child is named on the day the baby first sees the world. When the child is to be named a few hours after the delivery, all the villagers and the relatives of the child are invited. Usually the mother's brother of the child selects a name for the child. Unlike the practice among the Santals we do not meet with any definite

procedure of naming the child. The child receives the name of the grand-parents in most cases but it cannot be inferred by any hard and fast rule. The name of the eldest child in most cases is selected after the grand-father's.

**Puberty rites of women** :—Among this people the puberty rite is held only in connection with the first menstruation of a girl. This rite is not secretly held. Before the village deity, a cock is sacrificed after the name of the girl by the head-man of the village. Although we have seen that Māler women cannot touch or cook anything during the period of their menstrual flow, they are not subject to this taboo during their first menses.

This puberty rite has an important significance upon marriage, for without it the marriage is not valid. Usually, a Male woman uses two separate pieces of cloths. I have enquired as regards the use of the upper garment and the age at which it begins to be used. It has nothing to do with the puberty rite. These people simply say that it is used when the girl grows up older in age.

**Marriage** :—Marriage among the Malers is a matter of heavy expense. There is no fixed marriage age as it depends on the economic condition of the individual. There cannot be any marriage among relations. No cross-cousin marriage is practised. Levirate is in full vogue. In collecting genealogies I came across a re-married widow of twenty-four blessed with a daughter. She has been

re-married to a youth of seventeen, her deceased husband's younger brother, by the custom of levirate. The females are married about their 16th or 17th year. I, however, met with an instance where a maiden about 22 years old, was married only two months before I had been there. In the village of Chota Borsi (Boarjore, Godda) I came across a marriage, where a youth aged about 25 has married an old woman of about 40 years, with two daughters and related to him as mother's brother's wife. Marriage is permissible where no blood relationship can be traced.

The actual marriage ceremony takes place after a period of courtship. The groom, very often, selects a bride for himself. Courtship goes on usually at markets and on occasions of festivities and dances. The festive occasions happen to be safer and securer for the purpose than the market, which is mostly chosen for Santāl courtship. If the girl is willing to marry, the boy informs his parents, who in turn sends a match-maker, known as Sithudar, to the bride's parents. In every village marriage is settled through the medium of these professional marriage-brokers. A village wanting in one of these men, takes the services of the Sithudar of an adjoining village. The villages in which I did not see any Sithudar, while I had been there, are the following :—Danowar (October 1928) Dumko, Kunjbona and Tentlia (December 1929), Chota Borsi and Badda Churi (May 1931). The Sithudar comes and fixes the

bride-price and other particulars. The following day the Sithudar takes the boy, along with one of his relatives, to the bride's house. The boy offers some present, sometimes a necklace, sometimes a rupee to the girl in the presence of her relatives; her acceptance of the present shows that she is willing to marry. Her refusal means a denial on the part of the bride. Then the Sithudar ascertains the number of clothes to be presented by the groom to the bride's relatives, and the value of the goat which is to be sacrificed on the wedding night in the bride's residence. The goat is often carried along with the groom and the party, when they start for the bride's house on the wedding day. The custom of accepting the value of the goat in money from the bridegroom's party by the bride's party has also been in vogue at places. In fact, at Karambi (Shahebgunge), I was told that some twenty rupees were exacted from the bridegroom's party by the bride's party for the value of a goat, which according to the former could have been obtained for twelve rupees. The Sithudar, also fixes the marriage day, usually five days after the above acceptance of the present by the bride.

On the wedding day, the bridegroom's party arrive at the bride's house early in the evening and are given a separate resting place. The groom is then taken inside the house. The goat is killed and cooked, and then both the parties assemble to feast upon the goat's flesh. Rice-beer is also voraciously consumed and amusements follow,



There is difference of opinion as regards the propriety of dancing during marriage. In the northern part of Rajmahal subdivision, I was informed that they dance during marriage. (Karambi, Chota Pachurki, Shahebgunge). In the central part of Rajmahal subdivision and the eastern part of Godda subdivision it is reported that there can be no dance during marriages. Save and except Kunjbona, in Pakur subdivision, I was informed that they do actually dance during marriages.

In the actual performance of the marriage the Sithudar plays the most prominent part. The bride's father places her daughter's left hand on that of Sithudar, while the Sithudar in turn places it on the right hand of the groom. The father here relates the qualities of her daughter and entreats the groom to take charge of her and be loving and kind to her henceforth. Then the Sithudar holds the groom's left hand and with the aid of his little finger marks the forehead of the bride with vermilion. The bride in her turn applies vermilion on the boy's forehead, through the medium of the Sithudar. It must be mentioned here that it is the Sithudar of the groom's village who alone is entitled to discharge all these functions during marriages. During the performance five mango leaves are twisted in the shape of a betel *khili* and are inserted by the Sithudar within the bride's hairs. This is given so that the couple may be blessed with children. I only heard of this custom in the village of Demchok in Rajmahal subdivision. Then the bride and the groom are offered maize-rice which they are asked

to eat out of the same plate. The groom puts some rice into the bride's mouth and she, in turn, puts some into the groom's mouth. The Sithudar often helps for the first time, as an outward shyness overcomes the newly wed partners for the time being. This rite is a private one and the Sithudar only comes in for the first morsel, simply to give them a start. The pair is then allowed to sleep in the same hut. Paddy rice is used in place of maize rice in Pakur subdivision. The plate is carried home along with the bridegroom and this is taken to be a present to their future grandchildren by the bride's parents. The next morning the bride accompanies the groom to his house, as his wife.

Then, after five days, the bride goes along with her husband to her father's house. This time the groom is to present his father-in-law with a goat. The groom returns home usually the day after. In the interior of the Pakur subdivision (Surajbera, Kunjbona, Simlong, Dumko) I was informed that the bride is taken to her father's house after eight days. This is known as the Paharia 'Āṭ mangalā'. The very name seems to have some Bengali affinity in it. Another five days having passed, the groom goes to bring his wife to make her a permanent inmate of his house.

Before the bridegroom's party starts for the bride's house on the marriage day the village headman worships the village deity to whom he offers the sacrifice of a cock. A similar worship is also done in the bride's house. In Pakur subdivision, the

headman of the bridegroom's village worships in the same manner as above, after they return with the newly wed wife.

**Death and Funeral** :—The Mālers have various methods of disposal of the dead. The Pāhāriās of the Rajmahal subdivision and of the eastern part of Godda subdivision bury the dead. The Pāhāriās of the northern part of Pakur also bury the dead. Variation is only met with among the Pāhāriās occupying the tract near about the Pakur-Godda line. Here the dead is burnt. A converse system is met with among the Pāhāriās occupying the Pakur-Godda line. People dying of small-pox round about the former place are buried, whereas in other places they are simply exposed under a tree in the jungle. The latter custom is particularly met with in Rajmahal subdivision. Here also, it is reported that the dead body of the Demano (the village sooth-sayer) is also exposed in the same manner. This shows the blend of three customs from three different cultures.

The Mālers always have a particular piece of land set apart either for burial or for cremation. Every village has its own burial place. This place is believed by these people to be the haunt of the spirits. When I asked a Pāhāriā to accompany me to the forest for the purpose of a photograph he flatly refused to do so saying that "the Gosāi will be angry with him". The burial place is selected in such a place as they have rarely to pass by.

The burials are always made in the Rajmahal subdivision only with the head towards the south. In most other parts, whether in burial or in cremation, the head is always placed pointing west and the feet to the east. In the village of Badda-Churi and Chota Borsi, in the eastern part of Godda, however the head is placed towards the north and the feet to the south which is distinctly the reverse of what we find in Rajmahal subdivision. First a ditch is made according to the length of the corpse and under it are placed dry leaves and small branches of trees. Then wooden planks, if the family can afford them, are placed over the leaves and on all sides, in the shape of a coffin box. All the personal belongings of the deceased, even his own cot, his bamboo flute, sickles, scythes, *etc.* are buried with the dead. Then the upper plank is laid. Over the plank is placed some maize rice and then the whole thing is covered with earth. Paddy rice has occupied the place of maize rice in some parts of Pakur, particularly about the Pakur-Godda line. The cot cannot be buried along with the dead body and hence it is left there broken, so that, it cannot be of any use to anybody. Over the earth heavy stones of various sizes are placed throughout the length and breadth of the grave. This is done so that animals may not disturb the dead in its eternal slumber. Water is carried in a pitcher, to soften the earth before digging the ditch. The pitcher is left there broken. The chief mourner of the deceased offers a sacrifice on the

burial ground for the peace of the deceased. A cock is sacrificed on this occasion and this is done after the dead has been buried or cremated. Then five days after the burial, a cow or a pig is sacrificed before the house deity of the deceased. This feast is confined among the fellow-tribesmen of the village. This might be looked upon as the breaking of the taboos imposed upon the relatives of the deceased. This we have already seen in our discussions about the clan system.

Then after a year a grand feast follows. This time all the relatives of all the Māler residents of the village of the deceased are invited to attend. Pigs are sacrificed in numbers and rice-beer is distributed in any quantity. This day happens to be a very suitable day for courting mates. Offerings are also made before the village deity of the deceased. The importance of this feast lies in the fact that neither the widow nor the widower can re-marry without performing this feast. The burials of high functionaries such as the Sardārs *etc.* can be distinguished from other burials by its size. Over such burials are erected bamboo fences to signify the rank of the personage.

SASANKA SARKAR, M. SC.

(*Anthropological Laboratory, Indian  
Museum, Calcutta.*)

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## II THE GANA NOKMA CEREMONY OF THE GAROS OF ASSAM.

Ceremonies which confer social status on a person are very common among the primitive tribes in Assam. The Naga tribes such as Angami, Sema, Ao, Lhota, Mao, *etc.* perform a number of ceremonies to attain a superior position in their society. Among the Kukis too these ceremonies are very common. The Garos have only one ceremony and this ceremony can only be performed by the richest Garo. This ceremony is known as the "GANA NOKMA" ceremony.

A "Gana Nokma" is to be distinguished from the 'nokma' of a village who is altogether a distinct person and the ordinary 'nokma' is generally the head of the village and also the head of the 'maharis' (the village unit) and usually is considered as the owner of the 'akim' which is really his wife's property.

When a man has become very rich and is fit to perform the ceremony of a 'Gana nokma' he declares his intention to his wife's people, who will bring a 'danil' (an oval shield made of hide), a 'khotip' (a head dress of cloth usually of red colour), and a 'jaksil' (elbow-ring formerly made of bell metal but now also of any other metal such as nickel or silver) for the performance of the ceremony. On that very day when these things are brought the person has to feed all his village

and also his wife's *mahar* and other people coming with them. Sometimes the feasting is continued for about a week or two. After getting all these presents he performs the 'Gana Nokma' ceremony which really is only a feast given rather liberally to all the village. A bull is generally sacrificed and pigs, goats, fowls, are all killed and included in the feast. In the evening he wears the 'khotip,' and 'jaksil' and holds 'the danil' in his left and 'milam' (Garo sword) in his right hand and dances. The 'crum' (the Garo drum) is beaten by a man and the 'Gana Nokma' during the dance speaks out some words—the effect of which is to show "who he is and how big and rich he is". During the dance he kicks with his leg the 'danil' keeping to the rhythm of the beat of the drum. Sometimes the *danil* is struck by his knee. While he dances, his wife, his nieces and daughters usually join in the dance. No other relative or any outsider is allowed to dance with him. Their movements consist of contortions of the body—bending their body slightly towards the right and left and their hands rhythmically and gracefully in unison with the timing of the drum. While doing this they also move about a little and do not remain stationary in one place. Drink is freely used during the process. This sort of feasting, dancing and drinking generally lasts for three days. Sometimes feasting, drinking and drum-beating may continue for a day or two more but dancing beyond three days is not allowed.

There is a special household deity 'Sathok,' symbol-

lically represented by leaves tied to the central post, which the 'Gana Nokma' alone can worship with the help of the 'Kamal' (priest); and at least every three years a sacrifice of a hen takes place when the leaves are renewed.

A 'Gana Nokma' has to continue giving such a feast once every year and fresh bamboos, one with leaves and some without leaves, are planted every year in front of his house. From the number of such bamboos seen in front of a Gana Nokma's house one can generally have an idea of the number of years he has been giving feasts to the village. He has to continue giving such feasts every year provided he continues to be rich enough for the purpose. If he happens to get poorer he discontinues the annual feast and may give it once in three, four or more years. Sometimes he becomes too poor and discontinues the feast altogether. His appellation 'Gana Nokma,' however remains unchanged. The 'Gana Nokma' usually puts on his red turban ('Khotip') wherever he goes and has 'jaksil' all along on his elbow; and by these two distinguishing marks he can be recognised in any crowd of the Garos.

J. K. BOSE, M.A.

*Research Fellow,  
American Museum of Natural  
History, New York.*



### III. NOTE ON A RECENT INSTANCE OF HUMAN SACRIFICE FROM THE DISTRICT OF SAMBALPUR IN ORISSA.

There is current in many countries throughout the world a wide-spread belief that avaricious and miserly persons, who accumulate hoards of wealth during their life-time, cannot take away their thoughts from their riches even after their death. They, therefore, assume, after death, the shape of monstrous snakes and guard their treasure hidden under the earth. When disgusted with their lives as snake-guardians of treasure-trove, they ask some covetuous person to take possession of the hidden treasure by sacrificing to them some one of their dearest kinsmen. The prevalence of this belief in India has received a striking illustration from a recent case which occurred in the Nizam's Dominions. A rich woman named Rādhāmmā of village Yelamner kidnapped a child and sacrificed it to find out a hidden treasure. This case has been fully described and discussed by me in a paper which was published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for September 1928, pages 435-437.

Recently there has occurred, in the district of Sambalpur in Orissa a case of human sacrifice which was announced in *The Behar Herald* (published from Patna) of Saturday the 1st November 1930, in the following paragraph :—

“A case of alleged human sacrifice is reported

from Barpali in Sambalpur District. The victim is a seven year-old lad, whose head, it appears, had been severed from the trunk. The body is reported to have been discovered in a well in the house of Tabu Somari, who is stated to be a disciple of a village wizard.

"A set of instructions written on palm-leaves concerning animal sacrifice is also reported to have been found in the house of Somari. Several arrests have been made".

The question now arises,—whether the above-described case of human sacrifice, which has occurred at Barpali in the Sambalpur District, is one for discovering hidden treasure or one for some other purpose?

As regards the first part of the foregoing question, I am decidedly of opinion that the case is not one of human sacrifice for the purpose of discovering hidden treasure.

There now remains the second part of the question to be answered. Regarding the answer to it, I may state here that, during my three months' stay at Ranchi from 20th January to 15th April 1930, Mr. Anil Chandra Chatterji, Court-Inspector of Ranchi, informed me that the custom of offering human sacrifices for the purpose of lending fertility to newly-cleared lands which had to be made suitable for cultivation by cutting down the forest thereupon, prevailed in Chota Nagpur and that he had investigated into one or two such cases of human sacrifice which had occurred in the Gumla Sub-

division of the Ranchi District in that province. In these cases, he said that the corpse of the sacrificed victim had been buried under the earth.

In the case of human sacrifice which occurred in the village of Barpali in the Sambalpur District, the body of the sacrificed victim is reported to have been discovered in a well. This fact lends some plausibility to the opinion at which I have arrived, namely, that it is most likely a case of human sacrifice for lending fertility to newly deforested lands. The reasons for my opinion may be stated as follows :—

(1) A sacrifice has been defined to be something devoted to a deity or goddess consumed either in his or her honor or by him or her and by his or her worshippers. It is further defined to be an offering to propitiate a supernatural being or as an expiation.

(2) The method by which an offering is supposed to be conveyed to the deity or goddess varies much, either according to the residence of the deity or goddess in question or else according to the conception of godhead entertained by the worshipper.

(3) *Sacrifice to the Earth-deity or Earth-goddess may be buried in the field or thrown down precipices into clefts or ravines.*

(4) Sacrifices to ethereal and celestial deities and goddesses may be burnt to ascend to the skies in smoke.

(5) Or the skin of the victim may be draped upon the image of the deity or goddess ;

or the deity's portion may be exposed in the expectation that he will come as in the story of the *Bell and Dragon* and devour it secretly, or he may simply partake of the essence of it, as the ancestral spirits of the Zulus were supposed to do by licking it. In the aforementioned case of human sacrifice, which is reported to have occurred at Barpali in the Sambalpur district, the victim's body is reported to have been thrown into a well. Now a well is an excavation into the interior of the earth which is the residence of the Earth-deity or Earth-goddess. Consequently we may safely infer that, in the foregoing case, the child was sacrificed to propitiate the earth-goddess (पृथ्वी-माता) who only can confer fertility upon lands,

Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

*Formerly, Lecturer in Social  
Anthropology, Calcutta University.*

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## ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The fourth session of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population Problems was held at Berlin from 26th August to 1st September, 1935, under the presidentship of Prof. Eugen Fischer, Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics. It consisted of four sections, viz (1) statistics of the population; (2) the biology of the population and racial hygiene; (3) socio-economical and psychological problems of the population; and (4) medicine and hygiene in which, among others, the following subjects were discussed—the problem of growth, the rural and urban population, the racial hygiene, the protection and conservation of life.

The twelfth session of the International Congress of Zoology was held in Lisbon from the 15th to the 21st September. Though this Congress was mainly concerned with zoological problems, the following papers may be of some interest to anthropologists. Prof. R. Anthony of the *E'cole d'Anthropologie* of Paris in his address dealt with "The Evolution of Molar Teeth in Mammals" in which he offered fresh criticisms to the much-discussed tri-tubercular theory. Mr. Hinton of the Zoological Department of the British Museum lent support to his views. Prof. R. Goldschmidt of Berlin reported the result of his investigations on the genetics of local races of the Gipsy moth. Local races, in the opinion of this celebrated biologist, "do not represent a stage in the evolution of species".

The sixth session of the International Congress of the History of Religions was held at Brussels from the 16th to the 20th September 1935. An *ad hoc* Organizing Committee was formed of the representatives from the Universities of Brussels, Ghent, Lie'ge, and Louvain with Dr. Franz Cumont as its President and Prof. Henri Gregoire of the University of Brussels its General Secretary. Altogether there were eight sections in it which were as follows : (1) Methodology ; (2) Religions of Primitive Peoples and Folklore ; (3) Egypt and Ancient East ; (4) Religions of Greeks and Romans ; (5) Germans, Celts, and Slavs ; (6) Iran, India, and the Far East ; (7) Islam ; (8) Judaism and Christianity.

The Nineteenth Session of the International Congress of Orientalists was held at Rome from the 23rd to 29th September 1935-XIII.

It will be welcome news to our readers that the twenty-sixth Session of the Congress of Americanists whose meeting had been postponed last year on political and economic grounds was held at Seville (Spain) on 12th October under the presidentship of Prof. G. Marañón. Subjects meant for discussion there included, among others, study on the sources of the history of the discovery of America.

In a previous issue of this journal mention was made of the Sixteenth Session of the International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archæology (XVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d' Anthro-

pologie et d'Archéologie préhistorique) In "*Revue anthropologique*", April-Juin, 1935, is published a complete list, prepared by Dr. Maria Louis of the palæolithic and neolithic beds of Belgium and Limburg (Holland). Almost all the materials of the Liège collection of Prehistoric Archæology, be it noted, came from these sites. Delegates and prehistoric archæologists alike must therefore find it extremely useful to them. A good many important memoirs have already been appeared on the finds from these beds among which the works on geological and palæontological sides by Profs. Julien Fraipont, Max Lohest, Paul Fourmarier, Charles Fraipont, and Suzanne Leclercq are well known. The sites are as follows :—

1. The two caves of Fond-de-Forêt and their terrace (province of Liège), *Mousterian* and *Magdalenian*. (Ph. Schmerling, 1830, F. Tihon, 1898, J. Hamal-Nandrin and J. Servais, 1906-1914, 1931-1933).

2. Le Gisement de Sainte-Welburg (Liège), *Mousterian*. (V. Commont, de Puydt, J. Hamal-Nandrin and J. Servais, 1911-1912).

3. Les Grottes de l'Hermitage et du Docteur, L'Abri sous Roche de Sandron (Huccorgne and Moha, province of Liège), *Moustexian* and *Aurignacian*. (J. Fraipont and F. Tihon, 1887-1897).

4. La Grotte d'Engis (province of Liège), *Mousterian* and *Aurignacian*, (Ph. Schmerling, 1830, J. Fraipont, 1885).

5. La Grotte Al'Wesse (Modave, province of Liège), *Aurignacian* (J. Fraipont, 1887).

6. La Grotte de Spy ( province of Namur), *Moustertian and Aurignacian*. (Lohest and de Puydt, 1886, J. Hamal-Nandrin, J. Servais, Ch. Fraipont, and S. le Clercq, 1927-1928).
7. Zónhoven (province of Limburg), *Aurignacian*, Place of habitations (J. Hamal-Nandrin and J. Servais, 1907-1908).
8. Lommel ( province of Limburg), *Upper Aurignacian*. Place of habitations. (J. Hamal-Nandrin, J. Servais, Maria Louis, 1934-1935).
9. La Grotte de Martinrive ( province of Liège ), *Upper palæolithic* ( M. Lohest J. Hamal-Nandrin, J. Servais and Charles Fraipont, 1921).
10. La Grotte de Juzainé, dite du " Coléoptère " (Bomal, Luxemburg), *Magdalenian* (J. Hamal-Nandrin and J. Servais, 1923-1924 ).
11. Zonhoven ( province of Limburg), *microlithic* ( de Puydt, J. Hamal-Nandrin and J. Servais, 1911 ).
12. Fonds de Cabanes de la Hesbaye ( provinces of Liège and Limburg ), *omalian* ( 490 places of habitations : de Puydt, Davin-Rigot, J. Hamal-Nandrin, J. Servais, and H. Davin, 1888-1934 ).
13. Fouron-Saint-Pierre, Fouron-Saint-Martin and Remersdael ( province of Liège ). *Campignian* (?), (J. Hamal-Nandrin and J. Servais, 1916-1935).
14. Rijckholt-Sainte-Gertrude ( Dutch Limburg ), *Robenhausian*, ( de Puydt, J. Hamal-Nandrin and J. Servais, 1881-1934 ).
15. Rullen ( at Fouron-Saint-Pierre, province of Liège ) *Robenhausian*, ( de Puydt, J. Hamal-Nandrin, and J. Servais, 1893-1935 ).



16. Hoog Bosch (at Fouron-le-Comte, province of Liège), *Robenhausian* (J. Hamal-Nandrin, and Maria Louis, 1933-1934).

17. Spiennes (province of Hainaut), *Robenhausian*, (J. Hamal-Nandrin, and J. Servais 1919-1924, 1933).

The finds collected by Ph. Schmerling, J. Fraipont, F. Tihon, J. Hamal-Nandrin, J. Servais, and Charles Fraipont are now preserved at the University Museum while those collected by de Puydt, Davin-Rigot, Galand, Gaillard, J. Hamal-Nandrin, J. Servais at the Musée Curtius (prehistoric section). The specimens found by Rucquoy, Baron de Loë, Rutôt and Rahir are now kept at Brussels in the 'Musée Royaux d' Art et d' Histoire Naturelle'. Those who want more detailed information about these things may consult with profit the Catalogue published by J. Servais and J. Hamal-Nandrin in 1929.

In a previous issue of this journal (M I XIV, 317) we had occasion to refer to the expedition of Dr. Schebesta among the Pygmies of Africa. It is now announced in *L'ANTHROPOLOGIE*, Tome 45, Nos. 3-4, that another expedition led by Dr. Monod and sponsored by the Museum of Natural History of Paris, has been sent to west Sahara to study *in situ* various problems relating to the geology and and prehistory of the region. Dr. Monod has succeeded in finding out abundant relics of lower palaeolithic cultures in Adrar. It has also been reported that Miss Rivière and Dr. Tilloni, of the Museum of Trocadero, Paris, has gone to Auray for carrying research work in prehistory and eth-

nography which are expected to be continued up to the end of 1935. Further, Dr. Griaule who is an assistant in the same museum, has been sent to Bandiagara for collecting ethnographical specimens. He is also expected to stay there till the end of this year.

It is gratifying to note that as for Asia, the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago sent out an expedition in 1934 with the view of anthropometrical examination of the indigenous population of Iraq, Persia, and Caucasus. Its chief aim is to determine the racial likeness of the peoples of the Near East, past as well as present, with the ancient and modern peoples of Africa, Asia and Europe. The expedition worked for ten months in course of which measurements were made of 3000 individuals belonging to different groups such as Beduins, Kurds, Assyrians, Turkomen, Persians, Persian Jews, Ossetes etc. Photographs, samples of hair, and blood were also taken. As regards their programme, it should be noted, that the expedition at first, explored the region between Bagdad, North Arabia, Palestine and Syria whence it would come to Iraq, Persia, and finally to Caucasus.

In America, an expedition conducted by Prof. Gini, Director of Institute for the Study of Population, Rome, Prof. Genna, Dr. Camarito, has been sent for anthropometrical examination of Otomi, Aztecs, Seri, Tarasacs, Zapotecs, Huichol, Chapanecs, and Chinantecs. Altogether 1864 persons were measured. Dr. Krieger, Conservator of the

Section of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, carried on field work in the vicinity of Bonneville Dam, west of Oregon in course of which he had been able to discover the site of 30 Indian villages with numerous burial-places. Specimens collected by him had been sent to Washington.

It has been announced in *The Times*, London, October, 9, that Dr. L. R. Lorimer, a well-known authority on Indo-Iranian linguistics has been able to trace a hitherto unknown language, known as Boma, in course of an expedition in Kashmir. From the philological point of view this newly-discovered language can be placed in the Sanskritic rather than the Iranian group of the Indo-European linguistic family, although, it is interesting to note, the dialect is spoken now-a-days by a tribe of musicians and metal workers in Hunza who are all Muhammedans. Col. Lorimer who has recently reached Srinagar *en route* to England, has been engaged for more than a year in making further inquiries about Burushaski, the language of the Burusho of Hunza, and Wakki, "a language of the Iranian group spoken in Wakkan and also by Wakkan settlers in Northern Hunza."

We offer our respectful felicitations to Dr. A. C. Haddon, the Nestor of British ethnologists, on the attainment of his eightieth birthday on May 24, 1935. In Ethnology, the name of Dr. Haddon is one to conjure with. In him there has been a rare combination of research activities and organizing capacity. When he finally left Zoology at the call of Ethnology, systematic investigations in Ethnology at Cambridge, was in its infancy

and in a very disorganized state. It was he who first organized excellent team work both in the laboratory as well as in the field. The best fruit of his labours is the now-famous Torres Straits Expedition which he himself led with a band of younger enthusiastic workers like Rivers, Seligman and Myers.

To celebrate his eightieth birth-day friends, admirers and old pupils of Dr. Haddon assembled in a tea conversazione at the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. On their behalf Prof. C. G. Seligman presented to the museum a large collection of ethnographic photographs of his "dear teacher and friend." The cost of printing, mounting and finally housing these photographs in a cabinet, it is stated, has been met from subscriptions raised. This collection which will be henceforth known as "Haddon Ethnographic Collection" has found a permanent place in the Museum for further additions and development. It would not be out of place to note in this connection that at the time of his retirement from the Readership at Cambridge, Dr. Haddon also presented to the Museum his equally large collection of lantern slides—"a series unrivalled in the Empire," as Sir James Frazer has characterized it. In spite of his pretty advanced age, he has retained his old enthusiasm and vigour of mind; and his new work—"The Canoes of Oceania"—is reported to be ready for publication.

In a letter to 'NATURE,' July 20, 1935, entitled "Breeding of Loris in Captivity," Prof. W. C. Osman Hill has recorded a case of the birth of Loris in captivity in Colombo. He has also given an account of its breeding habit which is highly

interesting inasmuch as it is quite unlike that of *Nycticebus* and *Tarsius* in having "a well-demarcated bi-annual breeding season" which, however, points to a close agreement with the Lemur of which *Loris* is a species. The period of gestation is, according to him, "somewhere in the neighbourhood of six months"—a fact which has been corroborated by his previous communication regarding their "very long lactation period."

A well-illustrated account of the discovery of a light-skinned people, Tari Furora, as they are called, in an unexplored part of New-Guinea has appeared in "*The Illustrated London News*," August, 24, and 31. credit for this interesting discovery should be given to the Patrol Party led by Mr. Jack Hides, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Papua, who ventured to traverse an almost unknown and unexplored tract of land from the headwaters of the Strickland River (a tributary of the Fly) to the headwaters of Purari River—a venture that has been described by Sir Hubert Murray, the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, as "one of the hardest and most difficult expeditions ever undertaken in any part of the Island of New Guinea." It has been stated that the staple food of these peoples is sweet potatoes which, for want of any earthen pots are cooked with hot stones. This, however, is reminiscent of Polynesian culture. Their material culture has not, therefore, evolved beyond the level of Stone Age. As regards their village organization, they have "no definite village; each family had its own cultivated land, in which lay rounded, compact,

grass-thatched, dwellings built on ground". They have a good drainage system besides ; some of the drains, it is reported, are even 8 feet in depth. These peoples with light-brown skin and "Asiatic characters" are as Mr. Hide opines, certainly not Papuans. For further details the attention of our readers is being drawn to an article by E. Chinnners in *MAN* August 1934.

It has been announced in 'NATURE' October, 12, that an Institute for the Biology of Heredity and Racial Hygiene has recently been founded at Frankfurt on Main. It will be directed by Prof. Eugen Fischer, Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics in Berlin Dehlm.

It is reported that the Rivers Memorial Medal and the Huxley Memorial Medal for 1935 have been awarded to Prof. A. M. Hocart and Prof. Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, respectively the former in recognition for his field work in Ceylon, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

We have great pleasure in announcing that the Degree of the Doctor of Philosophy, *pro honoris Causa*, has been conferred upon Dewan Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, formerly of the University of Calcutta by the University of Breslau.

### **Obituary.**

We regret to announce the death of the following scientists :—

1. CAPT. Leonard Munn, O.B.E. (*Mil.*) M.E., F.R.A.I.,  
(*London*)

*who died on 21st. October, 1935.*

He was born in 1878 of an old artistocratic family of Scottish descent. He was a Hailburian and after a course in Geology and Mining in the Camborne School of Mines, started his career in Australia where he worked in various capacities in gold mines in the late nineties of the last century. Then he served for a short time in Africa and came out to India about 1902. Since then his association with this country was almost continuous.

Most of his services in India were given to Hyderabad, where he had worked as a gold prospector, Chief Inspector of Mines to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, Mining Engineer and Geologist to Messers Ibrahim Creem Bhoy, and finally as the Special Officer in charge of Well-Sinking and Geological Survey Departments. All through his association with the State he won universal esteem for his *bonhomie*, high sense of duty, great culture, catholicity of outlook and sympathy for the poor. He was a devoted student of Nature and field-study of Prehistoric men and their cultures was almost a passion with him. Being an unusually keen observer, he did not allow even minute details of Prehistoric remains to escape his attention during his constant tours in the interior. He was as a matter of fact a mine of information about the Prehistory of Hyderabad. He was chiefly instrumental

in bringing into existence the Hyderabad Archaeological Society.

Capt. Munn had a natural disinclination to rush to print and would deliberate much before presenting any view in a final form. The few papers that he contributed to Pre-historic archaeology were of such real value that they have been frequently quoted by the authorities on the subject. He had a most wonderful collection of photographs and notes on Pre-historic men in Hyderabad State some of them even being collected from obscure places in the interior. The three contributions which he sent to the Indian Science Congress held at Calcutta last year evoked much praise. At the instance of friends from the Royal Anthropological Institute and the London University, Capt. Munn intended to bring out a series of papers setting forth the results of his field observations, vast reading and mature deliberation. His demise before accomplishing this attempt is a great loss to students of Prehistoric archaeology in general and of Indian Prehistory in particular.

Capt. Munn joined active service during the Great war holding temporary commission of Lieut. Colonel in the Royal Engineers and was wounded several times. He was awarded O.B.E. as a Military distinction for his war services. His death at the early age of fifty-seven removes a figure loved and respected by all who knew him. Indian Prehistory has sustained a severe set-back at his death.



2. Prof. Carl Fürst, Honorary Professor of the University of Lund, and the celebrated pupil of Gustav Retzius, died on 12th April 1935. He was the author of several valuable publications of which the following may be specially mentioned :—(In collaboration with Retzius) *Anthropologica Suecica*; *Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Sweden*. (1902); (with Hansen) *Crania Gröenlandica* (1905); *Zur Kenntniss der Anthropologie der prähistorischen Bevölkerung der Insel Cypern* (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. Band, 29 1930).
3. Prof. Hugo de Vries, late Professor of Botany in the University of Amsterdam and well-known propounder of the Mutation theory in Heredity, died on May, 20 at the age of eighty-years. Among his many contributions "Species and Varieties (1912,) Intracellular Pangenesis (1910) have won universal recognition.
4. Mr. P. C. Basu, anthropologist, Bose Institute, Calcutta, author of "A Report of the Human Relics recovered from the Naga Hills" (with Dr. B. S. Guha), (1931); "Comparative study of Burmese Crania"; "Racial Affinities of the Mundas" (1932-1933), died at Calcutta on September 6, 1935 at the early age of thirty-one.
5. Dr. F. C. Shrubshall, formerly Hunterian Professor at the Royal College of Surgeons, President of the Anthropological section of the British Association (1924, Toronto Meeting) and a foremost authority on problems like Mental Deficiency and Juvenile Delinquency died on September, 25, 1935 at the age of sixty-one. His contributions mainly related to racial hygiene, and among them the followingd may be noted :—"The Influence of selec-

tion by Disease on the constitution of City Populations"; "Health and Physique throughout the Ages" (Presidential Address).

6. Mr. Edgar Thurston, formerly Superintendent of the Government Museum, Madras, and author of "Ethnographic Studies in Southern India"; "Castes and Tribes of Southern India"; "Omens and Superstitions of Southern India," died at Penzance on October, 5, 1935, at the age of eighty. At the time of retirement, the Government of India conferred upon him the title of C. I. E. He was also presented with the Kaisar-i-Hind Gold Medal in 1902.
  7. Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, the distinguished Palaeontologist, and a former President of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, died at Castle Rock, Garrison on Hudson, N.Y. on November, 6, 1935. He was the author of the following valuable publications some of which however are unique in their own spheres: "Correlation between Tertiary Mammal Horizons of Europe and America" (1900); "Equidae" (1918); "Titanotheres" (1929); "From the Greeks to Darwin" (1894); "Evolution of Mammalian Molar tooth" (1907); "The Age of Mammals" (1910); "Men of The Old Stone Age" (1921); "Man rises to Parnassus" (1927); "Origin and Evolution of Life" (1916-1917); "Impressions of Great Naturalists" (1924); "Cope; Master Naturalist" (1931).
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## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

*Man* for June 1935 gives a summary of a communication by J. P. Mills, Esq., regarding the cultural differences that have developed between the Eastern Rengma Nagas on the one hand and the Western Rengma Nagas on the other, since the former split off from the main body and migrated eastwards more than 400 years ago and ceased to have any communication with the latter until ten years ago. "In language there is still little divergence; in dress there are great differences, Eastern Rengma men still going naked. They have also retained the old buffalo culture, while the Western Rengmas have adopted the newer bison culture. In this and the architecture of their bachelor's barracks the Eastern Rengmas remind one of the old Konyak stock. A curious fact is that no single clan name is common to the two sections of the tribe. The Eastern Rengmas set up no memorial stones, but the Western Rengmas do. The spirit-world of the latter, too, is a far more complex one. The Eastern Rengmas are an almost unique example of an archaic Naga tribe."

In the same number of *Man*, Captain Leonard Munn contributes a note on "An Indian Rite to protect Cattle," which consists in a procession of five men of five low castes (viz a washerman carrying a big earthen *chatti* filled with milk but having a small hole at the bottom, followed by

a Kurubar shepherd, an Earth Wadder, a Panchala [either goldsmith or blacksmith, or carpenter, or stonemason], and a field-owner or ryot, marching round the village bounds and ultimately assembling at the village entrance where a pig has been buried up with its neck in a pit dug by a Begar or Wadder (outcastes). Here the Panchala casteman does *pūja* to the uncarved sacred stone at the entrance gate of the village by breaking a coconut, slicing a lemon, and marking the stone with saffron. Then all the cattle of the village are driven backwards and forwards through the gateway over the wretched pig's head, which is trodden to pulp. Capt. Munn who noticed this rite half-way between Raichur and Linga-Sagar believes that this is a modification of an earlier human sacrifice. He is led to this view by comparing it with an analogous rite to ward off cattle disease which he had seen in 1923 in Karimnagar district among the Lombardys (Lombadis?) or Indian Gypsies, who on the break-out of cattle-disease stole a child and buried it up to the neck at the entrance of their cattle-pen and drove all their cattle over the poor child's head with obvious result.

The same number of *Man* contains a communication from Mr. C. C. Das Gupta regarding "Female Fertility Figures," made of clay in ancient India. He refers particularly to two female figurines, one inscribed on a seal from Harappa belonging to the 4th or the 3rd millennium, B. C., and the other on a Bhita circular terracotta plaque

belonging to the Kushāṇa or the Gupta age. Although these fulfil the main characteristics of Dr. Murray's "Banbo" or "Personified Yoni" type, yet they also present features belonging to Murray's "Divine Woman or Ishtar" type; and Sir John Marshall is, the author thinks, justified in tentatively identifying these two figurines with Prithivi or the Earth-Goddess.

In the July (1935) number of *Man*, Dr. M. D. Raghavan gives an interesting account of four cylindrical objects in iron, each with a central piston rod, excavated by Alexander Rea from the prehistoric burial site at Adichanallur, and adduces reasons for regarding them as "early forms of the fire-piston in the East—perhaps the earliest known specimens."

In the August (1935) number of *Man*, Major D. H. Gordon, D. S. O., contributes an article on "The Problem of Early Indian Terra Cottas," in which he opines that "failing regular scientific excavation it is difficult to dogmatise, but taking into consideration that, so far nothing in the nature of associated finds has emerged to support an earlier dating than B. C. 250 at the very earliest for any object found and that what information one can glean from the villagers points to the fact that many of the primitive [terra-cotta] heads are discovered at higher levels than the debateable 'Greek' heads, the over-worked expression, 'Indo-Sumerian' and a second millenium dating are out of place here." The author criticises Dr. A. K. Coomarswami's uncritical deductions from three

terra-cotta figures obtained through a dealer, without any first-hand knowledge of their actual source.

In the same number of *Man*, Dr. K. de B. Codrington in reply to a reply of his critique on the *Indian Census Report* 1931, criticises what he calls, "the display of the Census Commissioner's taste in ethnological theory" in that Report. He opines that "a Census Report is primarily a corpus of facts, and the game is up when the theoriser has to confess 'there is no evidence' for half the area he (Dr. Hutton) is reviewing"; and that "a discussion of race and racial make-up is anything but biological"; but that "Dr. Hutton's...theory is largely based on linguistic evidence which, incidentally, is rejected by such an excellent authority as Sir Edward Gait". Another criticism levelled at the *Indian Census Report* is that "Dr. Hutton seeks support for the ideas from the opinions of certain field anthropometrists neglecting utterly extant craniometrical opinion. Though Craniometry suffers from a paucity of subjects, Anthropometry on the living displays variability in the method used itself, since it suffers from a seemingly unavoidable obscurity concerning the points between which measurements are made; and few field-workers have taken the trouble to estimate and state their own personal errors in taking measurements between certain debatable points. We must know peoples' before we talk of 'races'". "Dr. Codrington thinks there is no scientific justification for holding that, for instance, the Reddi, Vellals and

Kapu are "probably closely related". "Are they people of one stock, socially and genetically?," "The anthropologist should confine his preliminary studies to definite communities, first of all taking pains to arrive at the exact area of their distribution. Inter-marriageability is the significant fact in all questions of unity or disparity of caste. For every Caste in any one village a marriage-area can be arrived at by means of the genealogical method. If a series of such areas could be defined for the most important castes, we should know what we are at present ignorant of, i.e., whether they are homogeneous or disparate throughout their distribution. Moreover, such groups being inbred are ethnically concrete. Most important of all, in such clearly defined fields of research, the environment may be examined in detail and environment difference comprehended". Dr. Codrington strongly advocates the application of this ecological method to the study of man.

In the October number of *Man*, Mr. M. D. Raghavan describes and illustrates a few gourd-forms in pottery as seen in a few specimens in the Government Museums at Madras and Bangalore. Three of the vessels show a vent-hole in the side. Fibrous lines in the upper halves of these vessels, Mr. Raghavan suggests, would indicate that such a vessel was originally moulded over a core covered with some fibre, such as that of the coconut or over the fibrous core of a dried gourd, and then cut into halves when still soft, enabling the gourd core to be removed

before firing. Our author disputes Bruce-Foote's view that these vessels are seed-boxes, and holds that these could not be anything other than vessels for holding small grains of every-day domestic use.

In *Folk-Lore* for June, 1935, reference is made to a book called *Salutations of the Threshold*, a production from the Madras bazaars, which shows that many, if not most, of the threshold designs have been developed from the simple scheme of long eight.

In an article on "Childhood Ceremonies" in *Folklore* for September, 1935, A. M. Hocart refers to the custom in India by which the dead man is explicitly cut off from the living after cremation to the accompaniment of the words: "These living ones have separated from the dead." (Asvālayana's *Grihyasutra*, IV. 4, 10; *Rigveda*, X. 18, 3).

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October, 1935, Mr. N. Wolfenden gives *A Specimen of the Thulung Dialect*, and Mr. T. Burrow contributes an article on "Tokharian Elements in the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan".

In the March-September number (1934) of the *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, Dr. S. M. Katre discusses some fundamental problems in the Upamishads and Pali Ballads. These relate particularly to the historical development of the concepts of Purusa, Brahman, and ātman.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, for April (1935), L. A. Krishna Iyer contributes an article on *Migration : A study of the Traditional*



origin of the Dravidian peoples of Travancore. Certain traditions of the migration of the *Izhavas*, of the *Shānāns*, the *Sackaravars*, the *Kammālars*, the *Velārs*, the *Vaniyans*, the *Vairāvi Pandarams*, the *Vellālar*, the *Pattaryars*, and the *Krishnavagakars* are recounted. The author concludes that the *Kammālars*, the *Shānāns*, the *Vēlars*, the *Vairāvi Pandārains*, and the *Vellālas* came to Travancore from Madura and Tinnevely; the *Sackravars*, the *Vaniyans*, the *Pattārayans* and the *Krishnavagakars* from the Chola Kingdom, and the *Izhavas* and *Kandi Vellāla* from Ceylon. "The migration of these peoples was influenced by political turmoil or social difficulties. Some of these traditions may have been manufactured by the *Brāhman*s to elevate the status of the low but serviceable tribes of the Dravidian race or by the busy and ingenious artisans, who scarcely let slip an opportunity to elevate their low position. They are the modern representatives of the Dravidian".

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for June (1935) S. C. Roy in a *Report on Anthropological Work* writes a short note on the *Korwa* tribe.

In *Indian Culture* for July (1935), Dr. Md. Enamul Huq contributes the fourth or concluding part of his paper on *The Sufi Movement in India*.

In the same number of *Indian Culture*, Dr. Panchanan Mitra contributes an article on *Prehistoric Trade routes and Commerce* in which he attempts to determine palaeolithic and later pre-historic trade-routes from a consideration of the distribution of pre-

historic implements. The determination of such routes for palaeolithic man is necessarily very problematical though we stand on firmer ground when we come to deal with neolithic and later prehistoric times ; but to talk of canoes and sledges and even wheeled vehicles in Eolithic times is perhaps to give a loose rein to one's imagination.

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for June (1935) Prof. J. Przyluski contributes an article on *The Harmikā and the origin of Buddhist Stupas*, in which he adduces reasons to hold that "the big *Stupas* built prior to the advent of the Christian era, appear to be hybrid monuments, revealing different influences"—Scythian (Saka), Greek, Parthian, Aryan and Non-Aryan (Asura) ; that "the tomb of the early converted laics was probably similar to the pre-Buddhist (megalithic) tombs ; its dimensions were small because the deceased was an object of dread and it was feared that he would try to drag down a companion with him ; its base was round or square ; it was the room of the dead man. In the later *stūpas* the *harmikā*—that is to say the dead man's 'dwelling',—perpetuates the Brāhmanic tomb ; that, "at the time when the northern influence began to exert itself, the *stupa* developed into its real form : it took the shape of a mound, the dimension of which was proportioned to the social importance of the dead man ; but the former room of the dead does not disappear : it is placed on the top of the mound like a 'look out' on the top of a hill, whereas his ashes are hidden away under the dome as was the custom in ancient tumuli". In the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical*

*Society* for July, 1935, Sir Brajendra Nath Seal contributes an illuminating article on *Hindu and Greek Contributions to Mathematical Sciences :—Comparative Restropect.*

In the *Journal of the University of Bombay* for July (1935) Mr. B. L. Mankad continues his *Genealogical Study of some vital Problems of Population*, and Mr. M. G. Bhagat writes on *The Untouchable Classes of Mahārāshṭra.*

In the *Muslim University Journal* for June 1935, Mr. Otta Spies gives an English translation of *An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century.*

In the *Buddha-Prabha* for October (1935), Mr. D. M. Tatke contributes an article of 'The Law of Karma', and Mr. M. Venkatrao on the "Influence of Buddhism on the Life and Spirit of Japan."

In the *Modern Review* for September (1935), Prof. Devendra Satyarthi contributes an article on *Pathans at home* in which short notices are given of the Khattaks, the Afridis, the Mohmands and the Turis, and references are also made to the Wazir, the Bangish, the Marwat, the Bannuchi, the Shinwary, the Utman Khel, the Yusafzai, the Khalil, the Mohamadzai, and the Daduzai. The Pathans are really a nation of villagers. Each village is divided into separate quarters each of which (called a *Kandi*) being allotted to a particular clan (*Khael*) which has its own headman (*Malik*), its own mosque (*Jamal*). A house (*Kor*) consists of 2 or 3 rooms within a walled enclosure (*Golai*). Pathan women are fond of drawing rough art-designs on the mud walls in-

side their sleeping-rooms and kitchens. The names of the Pathans, boys and girls, are often poetic, e.g. 'Gulab' (rose flower), 'Anar Gul' (pomegranate), 'Shino' (verdure), 'Rina' light, 'Bulbula'; etc. Love of home is an inborn trait of Pathan character; so is hospitality. Every village and every quarter of it has its own guest-house (*huzra*). Their salutations and courtesies to friends, relatives and even strangers are very graceful and hearty. Revenge (*bendul*) is, however, another prominent trait and leads to blood-feuds of various sorts. Shelter (*Nanawatai*) must be given to any known and unknown fugitive who may seek shelter in order to escape punishment. The graves of the local saints are favourite places of pilgrimage (*Zairats*). "The life of the Pathan masses appears to be a blossomed flower during the 'Id (*Akhtar*) festivities when everybody's spontaneous joy comes forth like an inspiring song of beauty along with national song-feasts and various other exponents of the people's joy. The sword-dance of the Khat-tak Pathans which seems to be an exact reflection of their war-like soul, is noteworthy. "A go-between' or *Raibar* is employed to negotiate a marriage, and there is nothing like love-match among the Pathans." References are made to customs relating to marriage, birth, circumcision (*sunnat*), and death.

In the *New Review* for October, 1935, M. Asokiaswami, contributes an article on the *Self-Respect Movement* which has for its object the promotion of the self-respect of its members who belong to the

Brāhmaṇ caste. It has its headquarters at Erode in the Coimbatore district of the Madras Presidency and is spread over a wide area including the Tamil Nad, Malabar, Burma, the Federated Malay States, the Strait Settlements and Ceylon. Instead of confining itself to the removal of untouchability and caste and the amelioration of the poor and the weak, the movement, the author notes, has latterly proclaimed a general war against religion and even on God himself, on the plea that they are a bar to human progress. In the same number of the *New Review*, Mary L. B. Fuller in an article headed "*One Man's Meat*" describes her experiences during her journey in a third class railway compartment with a medley of castes and types of South Indian humanity, comprising Brāhmaṇs, male and female, farmers, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, small shopkeepers, Mahar untouchables, and three Muhammadan dandies.

In the *Proceedings of the National Institute of Sciences of India*, vol I. no. 2, Dr. J. H. Hutton, contributes an interesting article on *Mon and Munda in India and Beyond* in which the present state of our knowledge on the subject is briefly summarised and some of the questions awaiting further investigation are referred to.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

### *Ethnology and Archaeology.*

**The Mysore Tribes and Castes**,—Vol. I, Chapter I. By Dr. Baron Von Eickstedt (Govt. Press, Bangalore, 1934), pp. 80.

In this work, Dr. Eickstedt deals with the position of Mysore in India's racial history.

The author finds Mysore, and Southern India in general, one of the finest examples of the intimate connection between geographical environment and race. In fact, in the whole of the Indian Peninsula, as in Mysore, the same racial parallels are found, viz :—

I. In the open country, people of a progressive type—

(1) fair in the north ;

(2) dark in the South and in several ' refuge areas'.

II. In the jungle districts, primitive people—

(1) fair in the western, and

(2) dark in the eastern districts.

Racially the jungle peoples " still reveal, without exception, a primitive type of face and physique, particularly the women." The author would term them *Weddids*. Among the men, however, " transitional features may sometimes be observed, partly because of their sex, partly in consequence of the more or less strong intermixture with the progressive group".

The main racial divisions of India, according to our author, are the following :—

1. *The racially primitive people of the jungle region—Ancient-Indians or **WEDDID** racial group.* It is divided into :—

- (1) Dark-brown ( or fairly light brown ), curly- ( wide curls )-haired people (with a totemistic, mattock-using culture and with matriarchal influence ) : **Gondid** race [comparatively progressive, *E.g. Orāons, Khonds, etc.*]
- (2) Black-brown, curly-( narrow curls )-haired people with originally ancient cultures ( with foreign influences ) : **Malid** type [secondary and more primitive than the average Gondid race], specially found in the South Indian mountains ( *Mālē* ) but not to be associated with the Negritos as has been often done, though associated with a remote Proto-Negritoid layer. [*E.g. Kanikar, Mala-Bedar, Kurumbar, Irula, Yanadi, Chenchu*].

II. *The racially mixed and dislodged group—Black Indian ; **MELANIDS**.* The upper strata tends to merge in the Indid and the lower in the Melanid type ). It is divided into :—

- (1) Black-brown progressive people in the most southern plains with strong foreign matriarchy ( now strongly overstratified ) : Real or **South Melanids** (*E.g. Vellalars*). [*Yanadis, and Chenchus* represent transition from *Malid* to *Melanid*].
- (2) Black-brown primitive people of the northern Deccan forests with strong foreign ( totemis-

and matriarchal influences; **Kolid** type (E.g. *Sāntāls*, *Hōs*,) and lower classes of Bengal and Eastern Doab; whereas the *Mūṇḍās* and *Sōras* are, according to Baron Eickstedt, to a large extent "Goṇḍized".

III. *The racial progressive people of the open regions,—New Indians or plough-using INDID group.*—It is divided into :

- (1) *Gracile-brown* people with enforced patriarchy; **Gracile-Indid** race. (E.g. Nayers, Telugus, most Kanarese).
- (2) *Coarser light-brown* (or wheat-yellow) people with possible original patriarchal herdsman-ship: **North-Indid** type (representing partly an upper stratum, as in the Doab, and partly remnants pushed into the south, E.g. the *Tōḍās*).

Besides these, the two important foreign elements in the population are :—

- (1) A prehistoric **Mongoloid** stratum which came from the north-east with the Austro-Asiatics (Monkhmer) and survive, to any noticeable extent, only among jungle tribes.
- (2) The most recent strain, the **Orientaloid** from the north-west, which is almost identical with the Muhammadan population.

In Mysore or its border-lands are found relics of the most primitive inhabitants of India, the "Malids." Besides the intrusion of the later "Indids", we find in Mysore traces of advances of pre-Aryan North-Indid herdsmen and also traces of "Palāe-Mongoloids."



The "**TURANOID**" Mahratta "West-brachids" and Orientaloid Muhammadans also form important elements in the population of Mysore.

Though many anthropologists may not see eye to eye on all points with Baron Eickstedt in his racial nomenclature and classification of the Indian population and in all his observations and generalisations, his account is a valuable contribution to Indian Ethnology.

**The Katkaris :—**By A. N. Weling. (Bombay Book Depot, 1934).

This sociological study of an aboriginal tribe of the Bombay Presidency was prepared by its author as a thesis for the M. A. degree of the Bombay University in 1930. It is very satisfactory to find Indian students turning in increasing numbers to the study of the ethnology of our aboriginal tribes. These tribes are fast losing their distinctive culture and tending either to merge into the lower Hindu castes or to get extinct; and *now* is the time to collect as much material as possible concerning their vanishing culture. It is very much to be deplored that out of nearly a score of Universities in India, it is only in three or four Universities that the Science of Man receives some recognition. Anthropology as a whole is taught as an independent subject for Degree examinations only in the Calcutta University; and instruction in Social Anthropology only is given in the Bombay University, whereas in the Lucknow and the Madras Universities some instruction in Sociology only is given as part of the curricula in Economics and History respectively.

So far as it goes, this monograph gives a fairly informative account of an interesting tribe. One serious desideratum is the absence of an account of the religion of the tribe, as they understand it; for religion generally dominates the life of a primitive people like the Katkâris. It is to be expected that when the book comes to be revised, it will contain some additional data regarding material culture, social organisation and customs, and also one or more chapters on the religion of the tribe.

**The Head-Hunters of Western Amazonas :—**By Rafael Karsten, Societas Scientiarum Fennica; Helsingfors, Finland, 1935 ). pp. xvi + 598.

In this volume, Dr. Rafael Karsten gives us an exhaustive account of the life and culture of the Jibaro Indians of Eastern Ecuador and Peru, in the light of reseaches carried out by himself in the years 1916-1918 and 1928-1929. The name *Jibaro* is probably a Spanish corruption of the name *Shuāra* by which the tribe call themselves. This is probably one of the most numerous tribes in South America east of the Andes. The book gives a full account of the History, Material Culture, Social Life, Warfare and Victory Feasts and dances etc., Religion, Art, and Science, Mythology and Superstitions, and Language, of the people. It furnishes a vivid picture not only of the external culture but also of the inner life of the tribe. Numerous illustrations and a map add to the value of of the work.

**Head, Heart and Hands in Human Evolution :—**By Dr. R. R. Marett—( Hutchinson, 1935 ) pp. 303. Price 10s. 6d. *net*.

This inspiring book written by one of the foremost authorities on anthropological science should be in the hands of every student of the science. As a forcible, most thoughtful and well-reasoned presentment of the essential principles of Social Anthropology, we do not know of a more masterly volume than this. Even those who may not agree on all points with Dr. Marett, cannot lightly brush aside the cogent considerations that he urges in support of his views, conclusions and inferences.

In the first part of the volume, the author deals with the essential principles of sociological inquiry—the principal categories of sociological thinking. Social Anthropology, as Dr. Marett very rightly observes, is a study of the attempts of human society “to transcend the level of brute existence—to snatch a grace from their life by investing it with a meaning as the pursuit of spiritual good”. It is not in the direction of economic life that one must look for most of the extraordinary variety and colour displayed by human institutions all the world over and up and down the ages. “Though such milestones along the highway of nascent civilisation as fire-making and tool-making, and domestication of plants and animals, smelting of metals, inventions of the canoe, the cooking-pot, the wheeled vehicle and the plough, imply a tireless application of human ingenuity through long ages to the problem how to make the world a more comfortable place to live in, human progress has all along owed more to the liberal than to the material arts, for the best way of looking after the body is to cultivate a soul”. “The true work of man is,—having secured his modest place in the sun, to devote all the rest of

his superabundant energy to accommodating himself within that region of inner light where he can live so much more spaciouly". Dr. Marett points out that "it cannot be assumed that the Western nations are culturally and even racially dominants destined to lead the species to final victory. Mechanical aids will not compensate in the long run for lack of morale." He pertinently asks,—“Have we solved the marriage problem? Do we know how to educate the young? Can we produce intelligent Government or a noble art? Does our religion concentrate on essentials?” All will agree with him that this “need of putting our house in order, carries with it an obligation to be chary in passing moral judgment on our neighbours.” Though “Sociology should make no explicit affirmation about values, nor lay down the law as to how society should behave, it should so present facts that they can be used for the criticism of values.” “As civilisation spreads, knowledge of the sciences will assuredly tend to even up physical conditions, thus leaving humanity more free to tackle the harder task of regulating equally the moral conditions. Whenever that consummation is reached, I should expect our present ethnic types to become less distinguishable, or at any rate less important from any point of view, including that of marriage. Then truly might one speak of Society rather than of Societies in the plural. In the meanwhile let us do what we can to help that accommodating bundle of potentialities, the generalized man, in whom we all participate, to realize himself here and now in the extended social present, which includes both yesterday and tomorrow.”

In part II, the author discusses the central topic of Religion which is the chief expression of the feeling Heart. This topic of primitive Religion Dr. Marett has made pre-eminently his own. "Historically speaking, there can be no doubt that religion has presided over most of that long process whereby the human mind has attained to a relative freedom from primitive credulity, so far as it takes the form of a childish fear of the dark." "From dance to prayer might almost be said to sum up the history of religion regarded as a mode of human self-expression. To dance out one's transports, whether pleasure or the reverse, is to impose on them, that is on oneself, and by proxy on one's universe, the quality which is the essence of the moral law, namely, measure. .. The feelings take on new character, inasmuch as they are no longer isolated discharges with a sort of whole-or-none reaction liable to shake the organism to pieces. Instead they become harmonised, so as to lend severally just as much force as is required for some symphony of the passions that will be all the more rich and satisfying for being chastened and self-possessed. Such a sobering of crude sensibility favours the growth of thought, which thus quietly comes to its own as chief assistant of that ultimate choir-master, the rational self or will." "Every crisis tends to be met in the same way, namely, by a ceremonial movement symbolizing first a tension, more or less prolonged, and then a release celebrated in a sort of major key that takes the place of the previous minor." The spiritual purpose implicit in the rite "achieves *mana* by way of tabu." By his dealings

with the Unseen, however blindly directed, the primitive man has somehow and somewhere found what he wanted, a strong heart. And the query "Whether even a godless type of religion may not afford a partial revelation of Good as it evolves in us and for us", has, we think with Dr. Marett, to be answered in the affirmative.

Turning from religious feeling to religious thought, Dr. Marett adduces reasons for thinking that of the two methods of reaching the conception of an inner man, "there can be no doubt that scientifically the *mana* experience reaches the truth more nearly than can any susceptibility to dream or hallucination, however vivid."

As for religious acting, the function of religion, says Dr. Marett, is "to emphasise the moral at the expense of the material aspect." "The will to organize self and society until they meet and merge in a divine goodness is demonstrably as deep-lying and wide-spread as human nature itself."

In Part III, the author gives particular illustrations of what he calls "Pre-theological Religion"; and Part IV gives a bird's eye view of the Arts and Crafts of Pre-historic Man and those of the Modern Savage,—the manipulations of their Hand. Though the book is made up of different essays and addresses composed at different times and on different occasions, these have been co-ordinated together into a most fascinating whole, and the book will long remain a standard work on Primitive Culture.

**Totemism and Exogamy.** A treatise on certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society,—By Sir James George Frazer. (In four volumes; *Second impression*. Macmillan, 1935). Price £2. 10s. net.

These are reprints of the 1910 edition of this well-known classic of anthropological literature. No serious student of anthropology can afford to neglect this standard work. The four volumes form a vast treasure-house of all available data on totemism and exogamy, collated, marshalled and co-ordinated with infinite pains and masterly skill. All possible theories of the origin of Totemism as well as Exogamy, including two earlier theories that the author himself once held, are discussed in all their aspects, and the reasons for his final conclusions are fully set forth. All anthropologists know that our author holds that though it is possible that both totemism and exogamy might have originated in different ways among different peoples, yet it is more probable that each of them has everywhere had a similar origin, namely, that totemism originated in a savage ignorance of paternity and certain sick fancies and longings of pregnant women; and that Exogamy was a system of group marriage devised to supersede a previous state of sexual promiscuity (for the existence of which within historical times, no good evidence is, however, now available though the two customs of the levirate and the sororate may perhaps be the relics of an obsolete stage of Society which knew group marriage).

**Tell Asmar, Khafaje and Khorsabad:—**By Henri Frankfort (University of Chicago Press, 1933) pp. 102. Price \$ 1. 25; and—

**Iraq Excavations of the Oriental Institute :—** 1932-33 By Henri Frankfort. (University of Chicago Press, 1934) pp. ix+92.

These two volumes are communications nos. 16 and 17 of the Oriental Institute (of the University of Chicago), being respectively the second and third Preliminary Reports of the Iraq Expedition. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has placed students of archæology and ancient history under a deep debt of gratitude by organizing the Iraq expedition. The wealth of material already unearthed is of immense importance, and we look forward with ardent expectations to the completion of the labours of the expedition and the light that they will throw on many a dark corner of ancient history of the Near East and of world-civilization. The accounts of excavations and the illustrations contained in these two reports are of absorbing interest.

**The Origins of Religion :—**By Prof. Rafael Karsten. (Kegan Paul. 1935) pp. vii+328. 12s. 6d.

Prof. Karsten has written this book after six years' personal research among South American Indian tribes with special reference to the religious beliefs and customs in different grades of tribal culture ; and has also made a special study of the works of Finnish and Russian ethnologists who have collected and collated a body of new facts relating to religious life at an early stage of evolution in the Finno-Ugrian area; and for this ethnologists are under a debt of obligation to him. The theory of the origin of religious cult in general at which he has arrived is that the worship of



dead ancestors constitutes not only the most important form of primitive religion but, in fact, *the one* form from which religion in the proper sense of the term has sprung.

Two comparatively recent theories which have now come to be widely accepted are in particular controverted by the author, namely, the theory of animatism or a pre-animistic stage of religion, and the theory of primitive monotheism and of High Gods in the lower culture. Though the reasonings advanced by Prof. Karsten may not appeal to most advocates of the theories in question, the new data that he has collected and collated will be welcomed by all students of comparative religion. The contention of the advocates of the theory of *animatism* is not that there are tribes still existing whose religion is pre-animistic at the present day, but that there are vestiges in the lower culture of a previous stage of 'animatism' in which the soul or spirit was not discriminated as such from the body or object it inhabits. As for the author's criticism that the advocates of the 'pre-animistic' theory of the origin of religion equate the *Mana*-cult with 'animatism', this is perhaps not wholly accurate or justifiable. As the protoplasm out of which all religions have developed, the *mana*-idea or the idea of "the sacred" or "the supernatural" is not the monopoly of primitive religions alone, and there appears to be no justification for the author's adverse criticism of Söderblom's inclusion of the Indian concept of *brahman* and the *varenah* concept of the Avesta with the now generic concept of *mana*. As observed at pp. 219-220 of this Journal for 1934, in its wider view,

"the scope of the *mana* philosophy or the *brahma* concept ranges from the primitive man's dim sense of the presence of supernatural powers in different beings and objects up to the sublimest philosophy which regards the world as a manifestation of Divine Power". This is indeed 'a pure construction', as Prof. Karsten says. But the construction would appear to be based on a solid foundation of facts. And this view of *mana* (or *brahma-mana*, as we would term it) as the manifestation, in varying degrees, of the *divine within*, would appear to bring into one connected system most, if not all, beliefs of a religious, quasi-religious, 'magical', and 'superstitious' nature, both of the lower and of the higher culture.

**Creation and Evolution in Primitive Cosmogonies and Other Pieces** :—By Sir James G. Frazer. (Macmillan, 1935). pp. ix+151. Price.

This is a brilliant collection of Essays by another great Master of Social Anthropology. In the first essay, *Creation and Evolution in Primitive Cosmogonies*, the author cites instances to show that both the Evolution theory and the Special Creation theory of the origin of man "have been propounded independently by primitive philosophers at various times and in various parts of the world". Numerous tribes possess legends that speak of the creation of man out of dust or clay, whereas numerous others believe that mankind has been developed out of lower forms of animal life (*totemism*), and some go further and combine the two theories; thus, the Arunta of Australia, while representing men

as developed out of much simpler forms of life, assume at the same time that this development was effected by the agency of two powerful beings who may, to that extent, be called creators. The remaining essays deal respectively with *Mediaeval Latin Fabulists*, *Gibbon at Lausanne*, *Baldwin Spencer as Anthropologist*, *Canon John Roscoe*, and *Condorcet on the Progress of the Human Mind*. Besides these essays, the volume contains the author's *Speech on receiving the Freedom of the City of Glasgow*, and *Memories of the author's Parents*. The volume is as highly interesting as it is instructive.

**Addresses Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science :—**(105th year) Norwich, Sept. 4-11, 1935. (British Association, London), pp. 222. Price 3s. 6d.

As usual, this annual volume containing the addresses of the general President and different Sectional Presidents is immensely interesting and instructive. To students of man, the Presidential Address of Prof. W. W. Watts, President of the Association, on "Form, Drift, and Rhythm of the Continents", and the address of Prof. F. Balfour-Browne, President of the Zoology section, on "The Species Problem", and the address of Sir A. Smith Woodward, the President of the Anthropology section, on "Recent Progress in the Study of Early Man," and the address of Dr. L. L. Wynn Jones, President of the Psychology section, on "Personality and Age," will be of particular interest.

**Man and Gods in Mongolia :—**By Henning Haslund (Kegan Paul, 1935). pp. xiv + 358. Price 15s. net.

This highly entertaining and informative book of travel gives us interesting glimpses into the life of some of the Mongol tribes, particularly the little-known tribe of Torguts. The various striking incidents of the author's travels are graphically described, and the reader finds himself, as it were, breathing the atmosphere of the mountains and steppes of Mongolia and the tents of the Mongols. The author tells us of his success in taking anthropometrical measurements and systematically observing and investigating the various customs, laws and institutions of the tribes, with whom he had the advantage of living in intimate touch,—as a nomad among nomads—for a fairly long period. And it is expected he will satisfy the eager expectations of his anthropologically-minded readers by bringing out a volume on the ethnography of the tribes he has known and particularly the Torguts who were the special objective of his wanderings. It is worth noting that in Shara Sume monastery the author found an ancient Torgut manuscript in which it is recorded that the remote ancestor of the Torgut Khan dynasty had migrated from India before the birth of Christ.

**The History of the Human Skeletons preserved in the Ossuary of the Church of St Leonard, Hythe—By G. M. Morant. (F. J. Persons, Ltd., London, 1935) pp. 41.**

In this little book an account of the collection of ancient bones in the Church of St. Leonard at Hythe is given, and different theories regarding their origin are discussed. The author is inclined to the view first suggested by the Rev. James Brome that the bones may have been derived from a churchyard ;

and supplements this by the further suggestion that the majority of the skeletons in the ambulatory came from the old churchyard of St. Leonard's, and the bulk of the collections must have been gathered before 1650 A.D.; and that though of post-Roman date, the prehistoric stock from which the Hythe type of skeletons, sprang "must certainly have been a foreign one before the Roman invasion", and that the mediaeval population of Hythe, as represented by these skeletons, "was directly descended from the foreigners who settled in the locality in Roman times". Our author finds from a comparative study that "the inhabitants of Hythe seem to have been more mixed racially than the contemporary Londoners, having come principally from Italy and Eastern Europe". These conclusions support the view that when Britain was cut off from Rome at the beginning of the fifth century the Roman provincials who had settled in England did not all leave the country. Researches such as those of which this book is the outcome indicate that the generalizations of the historians with regard to these matters may have to be thoroughly revised.

### **Folk-Lore.**

**Folk-Lore from Adams County, Illinois:—**By Harry Middleton Hyatt. (Memoirs of the Egan Hyatt Foundation, New York, 1935). pp. xxii + 723

This is a highly interesting collection of as many as ten thousand nine-hundred and forty-nine proverbs, sayings, and folk-stories current in Adams

county, Illinois, which has been a melting pot of immigrants from various European countries so that the present population is a thoroughly "mixed lot." The labour and assiduity with which this vast amount of folk-lore has been collected, and classified under a very large number of appropriate headings deserves unstinted praise and elicits admiration.

### Biology.

**Darwinism and its Critics:**—By Sir Arthur Keith (Watts & Co. 1935). pp. 47. Price 1s. *net*.

In this lucid and incisively-written little book, one of the greatest of modern anthropologists stresses the now incontrovertible fact that Special Creation as a theory of man's origin is "totally at variance with the known facts of man's development". He begins by pointing out the mistake, not yet quite uncommon, that Darwinism means merely the application of Natural Selection to the theory of Evolution, whereas in point of fact, Darwinism "strenuously refused to regard it as more than *one* of the factors which are concerned in the production of evolutionary change." As the author very pertinently observes, the fundamentalist's assertion that God 'out of dead matter made living matter' cannot satisfy even a child's intelligence, for the child's next question is sure to be—'And who made God?' "To suggest that at any stage or that at every stage a creative power, bearing a human shape, is bending over and guiding the development of every growing egg, human or otherwise, is a thought which seems absurd to men of science". For one thing, "the manner of man's de-

velopment in the womb proclaims in the most unmistakable way that he is a child of evolution". The absurdity of the arguments of modern supporters of the Special Creation theory, represented by one of the most die-hard of Creationists, Sir Ambrose Fleming, F. R. S., is mercilessly exposed, though the attempt might appear to many as one to slay a dead horse. Sir Ambrose is really convicted out of his own mouth as Sir Arthur shows in this masterly exposition.

**Heredity and the Ascent of Man :—**By Dr. C.C. Hurt. (Cambridge University Press, 1935). pp. IX+138. Price 3s. 6d. *net*.

In this book we have a succinct but lucid and popular epitome of the latest researches and views in genetics in so far as it is concerned with the origin, evolution and ascent of man. As the author says, "The new knowledge in genetics has provided the missing link in Darwin's theory of natural selection and thus serves to establish it firmly as a prime law of nature and the ultimate arbiter although not the primary cause of evolution". And further, "the immediate future progress of Man and Mind depends largely on Man's response to the new knowledge". Population statistics in all the western civilised nations show that the less high grades of intellect are rapidly decreasing owing partly to the artificial restriction of their families for economic reasons and partly to their natural sterility, whereas the dominant and fertile mediocre grades of intellect are rapidly increasing by geometrical progression. The author

estimates that for the maintenance of modern civilisation at its present level a minimum of 10 *per cent* of the population should be above the grade of mediocrity in intellect. It is therefore "the first duty of the State or nation to ensure that the minimum intelligence index is maintained." "Education can only lead out and develop natural ability when it is present in the population. In the absence of the *genes* which determine organised intellect, education is powerless. On the other hand, the more genes for intellect there are present in the individual the higher the grade of intellect and the more responsive to education is that individual. The only solution available is therefore to encourage larger families among the more intelligent parents of all classes and conditions of life, who are known to be carrying a large number of genes for intellect in their germ cells." "The only hope for the success of race improvement in a democratic country is to convince the leaders of thought and action in that country who are, or should be, themselves superior, of the national advantages of such a policy. There can be no doubt that the first nation which adopts sound scientific measures for race improvement will, in the course of a few generations, inherit the earth." In view of the general progressive nature of creative evolution and of Man in the past marked by the increasing influence of mind over both life and matter, it may be inferred that in the course of long ages "a less material or almost immaterial type of being might arise, utterly different from the present human species, scarcely human save in mind and intellect and on a higher intellectual plane".



The biological picture which the author depicts in this book of the creative evolution of matter into life, mind and many higher values in the distant future with the possibility of an infinite intellectual or spiritual existence beyond, opens up an alluring vista of infinite possibilities of future progress notwithstanding the astronomical picture of the final dissolution of the visible and material universe. In this respect modern scientific speculation harks back to some of the ideas of the Greek philosopher Plato and the metaphysical speculations of the ancient Hindu sages. We commend this very informative and thought-provoking book to all students of Man and Life.

**Education and Biology :—**By J. A. Lauwerys with the assistance of F. A. Baker, (Sands and Co. London, 1934) pp. vi + 207. Price 5s.

The author discusses in a popular and simple way the problems concerning the relations of Biology to Education, so that teaching in schools and colleges may be directed into useful channels. The view-point adopted is essentially organic, and such important problems as the method of giving instruction on the facts of sexual reproduction and of the theory of Evolution are discussed fully from this stand-point. The last two chapters of the book which deal with the biological laboratory and syllabus will be of particular interest to teachers of Biology, and the other chapters should prove interesting to the general reader as well as to the student.

**Psychology.**

**A Survey of the Science of Psychology :—**By J. R. Kantor. (Principia Press Inc., Bloomington, Indiana. 1933) pp. xvii + 564. Price \$3.75.

The author's aim in this book has been to present to the student the materials of psychology not as firmly settled facts and principles but as problems to be faced and worked over. Traditional psychological view-points are discussed only to bring out into relief what the author calls the interactional or organismic conception. One of the assumptions of this view point is that "psychology is a natural science with its own subject-matter and is not a patchwork of physiology as so many writers seem to believe," and that "psychological phenomena are very specific interactions between organisms and stimulating objects", though the participation of physiological activities in psychological phenomena is not ignored. In the author's system the social and cultural influences upon our mentality has to be taken into account. And accordingly in the two concluding Chapters "the psychological individual" is discussed as a "biological organism" and as a "cultural organism". Students of anthropology will, it is expected, find this volume particularly interesting and helpful.

**Psychic Phenomena of Jamaica.** By Joseph J. Williams, S. I. (The Dial Press. New York 1934). pp. 305. Price 2.50 \$.

In this book, the author who is Professor of Anthropology, Boston College Graduate School, and a Catholic priest has furnished a large number of instances and

facts regarding various psychic phenomena in Jamaica, and has sought to trace back their origins in Africa whence they were brought in the days of slavery and adapted to the exigencies of new surroundings and varying contacts in Jamaica. Dr. Williams emphatically declares,—“Certainly in all the phenomena in Jamaica that I have been able to study, not in a single instance have I found the slightest indication that the happenings were invoked by any human being.” Again, “Taking them all together as a composite whole it is my unhesitating conclusion that there are times in Jamaica when phenomena occur that transcend the forces of Nature and must be attributed to spirit control.” And the author assures us that in the acceptance of evidence he played, as every scientific enquirer must play, “the role of sceptic, sifting carefully every word of testimony and testing out each fact as far as possible.” Though from the view-point of a Catholic divine Dr. Williams would ascribe these phenomena to “diabolic origin,” “not to the angels but to the demons,” we believe that instances of psychic phenomena of either beneficent or harmless character are not rare, so that it might perhaps be more scientific not to qualify the ascription of spirit-control by characterising it either as diabolic or as angelic. However that may be, the volume before us is a valuable addition to the literature on this interesting and intriguing topic.

### **History and Economis.**

**Moghul Kingship and Nobility:**—By Principal Ram Prasad Khosla. (Allahabad, Indian Press, 1934), pp. ix+311. Price Rs. 5.

In this book the constitutional aspect of the Moghul rule in India is described and discussed with consummate ability in the light of ripe scholarship, sound critical acumen and sober judgment. The author finds the main cause of the success of Moghul rule in the secularization of most of the administrative departments and consequent religious toleration which the Moghul emperors until the time of Aurangzeb generally favoured. Another important point which the author brings out is the limitation of the Emperor's power which though absolute in theory was held in effective check by the customs of the people. These coupled with a high sense of justice in the Emperors kept the people contented. This book is undoubtedly a valuable addition to Indian historical literature.

**Governor Arthur's Convict System, Van Dieman's Land, 1824-26.** *A Study in colonization.* By W. D. Forsyth. (Longmans. 1930) pp. xv+213. price 7s. 6d.

In this volume the author presents a vivid and instructive picture of the operation of the system of transportation of convicts as a penal discipline and the method of colonisation in only one British colony under a particular Governor, so as to bring out the ideas and policies that flowed with and against the current of convictism. In his assessment of the results of Governor Arthur's system, the author credits it with the maintenance of order to a considerable and unexpected degree, but denies its success in its

aims of prevention, punishment and reform. "Without order the island would have been a veritable hell and no advance in colonization could have been made. By his strong government, harsh and soul-destructive as it was, Arthur, even if by harnessing economics to convictism he retarded social progress, at least prevented convictism from getting the bit between its teeth and wrecking material development altogether." "Sworn to the convict system, Arthur's formidable powers were directed to its efficient administration in despite of criticism and opposition." For the student of the history of British expansion and of economics, the history and conditions of these penal colonies, so well depicted by Mr. Forsyth, are well worth study.

### **Indian Art, Culture, and Philosophy.**

**Ravi Varma :—**By K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy. (Kripin & Co., Trivandrum, 1934). pp. 52. Price As. 8.

This well-written and appreciative sketch of Ravi Varma's life and work will be welcomed by students of Indian art. As Prof. Rangaswami in his 'Introduction' to this booklet says of Raja Ravi Varma, "His pictorial representations of Puranic legends and the stories in the ancient Indian Classics have done more to create and keep alive interest in ancient Indian traditional lore than all our oriental institutes. His tireless brush did the work of myriads of special educators and created the pride in Indian History, tradition and custom, which forms the solid

foundation of Indian nationalism. Opinions might be divided on Ravi Varma's merits as an artist but they cannot be so on his vast and lasting influence, as a unifying Indian—and Hindu—force." We hope in a second edition the value of the book will be enhanced by the addition of a series of representative reproductions of the great realistic artist's art productions.

**Sri Aurobindo and the Future of Mankind :—**

With a foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan and with an Introduction by Dr. A. N. Mukherjee. By Adhar Chandra Das (University of Calcutta, 1934). pp. xv+130.

In this book the author has collected, co-ordinated, and presented as an organic whole the philosophical thoughts and ideas, scattered over numerous magazine articles, of one of India's profoundest thinkers and 'seers' of the present day, and has thereby placed all seekers of truth under a deep debt of gratitude. Aurobindo recognizes Evolution as more than mere change from the less complex to the more complex. Evolution stands for progress. It is not intelligible apart from a plan. But this plan is not temporal. It is the urge of divine realization. Evolution is a process in time. But it is not itself Reality. Time is not nevertheless neglected as an illusion. It is the necessary mediation through which the Eternal is manifested. "Man is Nature's great term of transition in which she grows conscious of her aim ; in him she looks up from the animal with open eyes to-

wards her divine ideal." At different stages, new qualities are emerging. Thus matter, life, and mind have come into being. Mind is as yet the highest product of evolution, but it is not its terminus. At each stage of evolution there is an urge towards the next. So even in mind the restlessness of time has not a bit abated. The whole universe is tending to a stage ahead at which a fundamentally new quality, namely 'deity', 'life divine', different in kind from mind, will emerge.

Evolution is not for the sake of evolution. It is simply a means to a supreme end which is being progressively realized in and through it.

**A Book of Indian Culture :—**By D. S. Sarma.  
(Macmillan, 1934) pp. 150.

This is a compilation of eight masterly essays on different aspects of Indian culture written by experts. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore leads with an essay on "Indian Drama" as represented in Kalidas's *Sakuntala*. The next essay is "Indian Drama : its Characteristics and Achievements" by Prof. A. B. Keith. Then follow articles on "Indian Epics" by Sir Monier-Williams, "Indian Art" by E. B. Havell, "Indian Education" by F. E. Keay, "Indian Ethics" by Prof. E. W. Hopkins, "A Great Indian Scripture : the *BhagaVat Gita*" by the Editor himself. The last essay is on "Greater India" by Rabindra Nath Tagore again. Compilations of this kind have an undoubted value in giving the young Indian student an appreciation of the highest achievements of his countrymen in the past in literature, art, education, ethics

and religion as also a correct appreciation of our defects and limitations and their remedies. The Indian student and his elders have particular need to bear constantly in mind Rabindra Nath's pregnant words in the last essay in this volume,—“The Ultimate, the Perfect, is concerned with the All, and is evolving itself through every kind of obstacle and opposing force. Only to the extent that our efforts assist in the progress of this evolution can they be successful. Attempts to push oneself alone whether made by individuals or nations, have no importance in the processes of Providence. In evolving the History of India, the principle at work is not the ultimate gratification of the Hindu, or any other race. In India, the history of humanity is seeking to elaborate a specific ideal, to give to general perfection a special form which shall be for the gain of all humanity ;—nothing less than this is its end and aim. And in creating this ideal type, if Hindu, Moslem or Christian should have to submerge the aggressive part of their individuality, that may hurt their sectarian pride, but will not be accounted a loss by the standard of Truth and Right. We are all here to co-operate in the making of Greater India. If any one factor should arrogate to itself an undue prominence that will only interfere with the general progress....Of late the British have come in and occupied an important place in India's history. This was not an uncalled for accidental intrusion. If India had been deprived of touch with the West, she would have lacked an element essential for her attainment of perfection. Europe now has her lamp ablaze. We must light our torches at its wick and make a fresh start on the



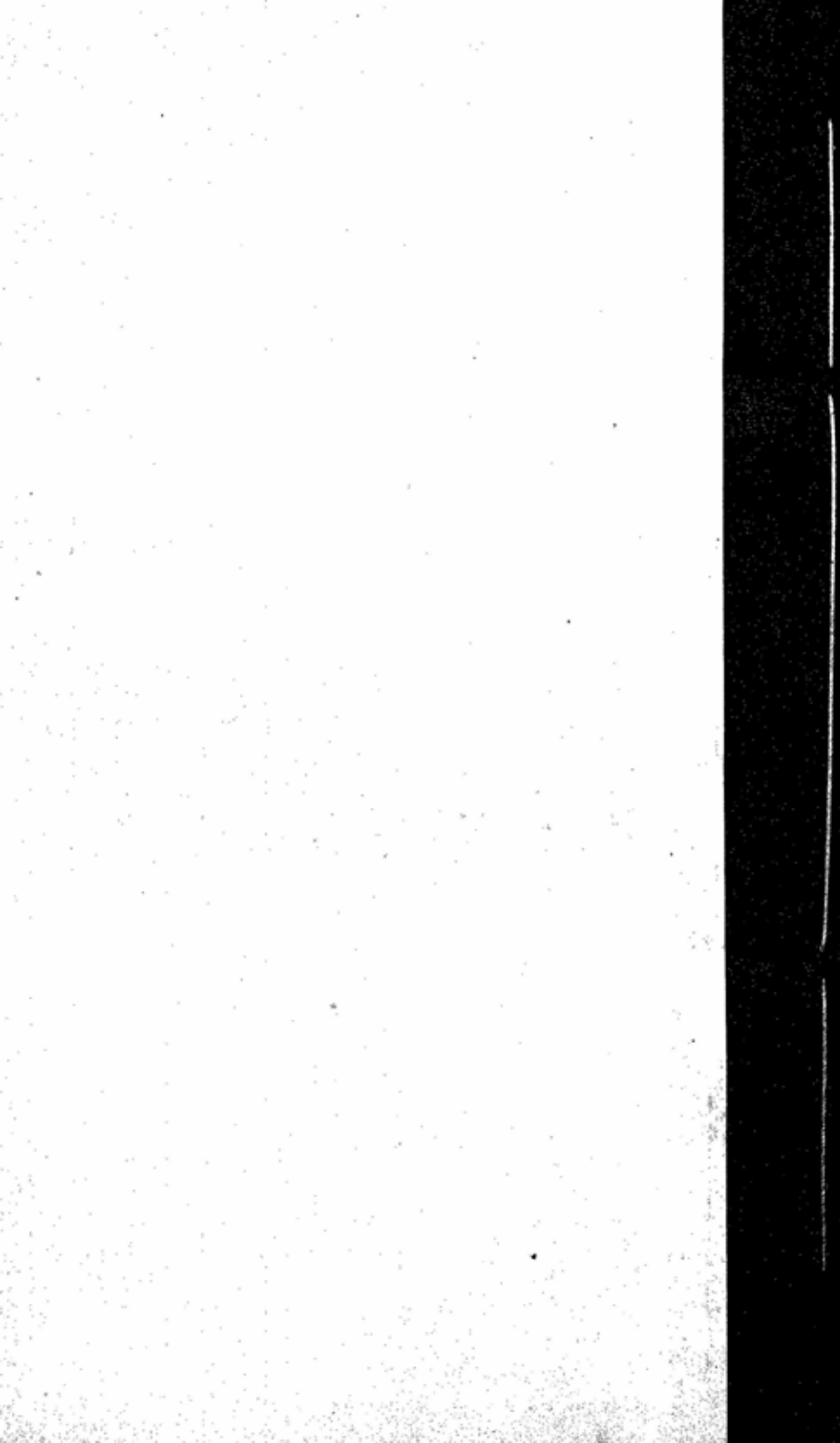
highway of time. That our forefathers, three thousand years ago, had finished extracting all that was of value from the universe, is not a worthy thought. We are not so unfortunate, nor the universe so poor. Had it been true that all that is to be done has been done in the past, once for all, then our continued existence could only be a burden to the earth, and so would not be possible. The Englishman has come through the breach in our crumbling walls, as the messenger of the Lord of the world-festival, to tell us that the world has need of us ; not where we are petty, but where we can help with the force of our Life, to rouse the world in wisdom, love and work, in the expansion of insight, knowledge and mutuality.... In spite of all retarding factors our impact with the West must be made good, - there can be no escape for India until she has made her own whatever there may be worth the taking from the West. Until the fruit is ripe it does not get released from the stem, nor can it ripen at all if it insists on untimely release. It is we who are responsible for the failure of the Englishman to give us of his best. If we remove our own poverty we can make him overcome his miserliness. We must exert our powers in every direction before the Englishman shall be able to give what he has been sent to give... We must remember that the Englishman himself has had to realise his best through supreme toil and suffering. We must cultivate the like power within ourselves. There is no easier way of gaining the best."

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